THE THINGS YOU ALWAYS THOUGHT WERE SO--
THE THINGS YOU NEVER DREAMED WERE SO--

..THEY'RE ALL IN THIS STARTLING AND FASCINATING TRUE STORY.

In this magnificent book you'll follow the course of tremendous events as fateful behind-the-scenes decisions are made. The author was himself a member of the White House inner circle; he knew both Roosevelt and Hopkins intimately and had access to thousands of private papers.

With him you'll peer over the shoulders of the men who did more than any others in our time to shape our country, our jobs...our lives.

A Limited Edition!

No more than half a million sets of this double Bantam Giant will be printed -- which means that fewer than one out of sixty American families will be able to purchase this great American book in the low-cost edition.

This absolutely complete Bantam edition is in two volumes -- of which this is Volume One. Volume Two, obtainable where this book was purchased, completes the dramatic story

AND **Hopkins**

an intimate history

by

Robert E. Sherwood



Bantam Books

NEW YORK

ROOSEVELT AND HOPKINS
An Intimate History
A BANTAM BOOK published by arrangement with
Harper & Brothers

PRINTING HISTORY
Serialized in *Collier's* May-September, 1948
Harper Edition Published October, 1948

1st Printing .... August, 1948	*7th Printing .. December, 1948*
2nd Printing .... October, 1948	*8th Printing .. December, 1948*
3rd Printing .. November, 1948	*9th Printing .... January, 1949*
4th Printing .. November, 1948	*10th Printing ... February, 1949*
5th Printing .. November, 1948	*11th Printing ...... May, 1949*
6th Printing .. November, 1948	*12th Printing .. September, 1949*

Book-of-the-Month Club Edition Published December, 1948
Harper Revised, Enlarged Edition Published March, 1950
1st Printing .... January, 1950
Bantam Revised, Enlarged Edition Published September, 1950
1st Printing .... August, 1950

Bantam Books are published by Bantam Books, Inc. Its trade mark, consisting of the words "BANTAM BOOKS" and the portrayal of a bantam, is registered in the U.S. Patent Office and in other countries.
Marca Registrada

Printed in the United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS: *Volume 1*

THIS BOOK HAS WON THE FOLLOWING HONORS:

- The Pulitzer Prize for biography.
- The Book-of-the-Year Award given by the Saturday Review of Literature.
- The Gutenberg Award given by the Book Manufacturers' Institute.
- The Bancroft Prize in history awarded by Columbia University.

Note on Revised, Enlarged Edition

WHEN, during the long process of preparing this book, I was asked questions about its nature, I sometimes heard the protest, 'But surely you are not going to publish such material while so many of the leading participants in this history are still living?'

This protest indicated a sense of nicety, or squeamishness which is happily becoming obsolete In the past, heirs of presidents, generals and other influential figures have suppressed private papers for years or generations, or have even destroyed them forever, and these heirs still have the legal right to do as they please with inherited documents But the development of custom now frowns upon such suppression Franklin D Roosevelt established a healthy precedent by bequeathing his papers, which run into millions of items, to the nation rather than to his family, and the clearance of these papers for public inspection is at the discretion of the Archivist of the United States, who is invested with public responsibility

It would seem that the time to publish the record to the fullest possible extent is when many of its principal figures are still alive and therefore able to talk back to correct misstatements of fact or to challenge interpretations

Such has been the case with this book which was first published in the United States and Great Britain in October, 1948, and subsequently in other countries I have read many hundreds of letters and reviews and articles some of them written by persons who have intimate and authoritative knowledge of events herein recorded others by persons who have had access to official records I have had innumerable conversations with people qualified to ask me on what authority I had based various statements Furthermore a large number of relevant books have been published during the past eighteen months, including the first two volumes of Churchill's memoirs (the third

volume is in process of serialization as I now write), *Crusade in Europe*, by Dwight D. Eisenhower, *This I Remember*, by Eleanor Roosevelt, *F.D.R.—My Boss*, by Grace Tully, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and the four final volumes of *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, compiled by Samuel I. Rosenman.

If I made mistakes, major or minor, in this book, there has been ample time and opportunity to expose them. Accordingly, Harper's have decided to publish this enlarged edition containing the new material either of correction or of amplification that has come from authoritative sources. All of this added material is incorporated in the notes which start on page 531. No change has been made in the body of the book except for the correction of a few detected misprints and slips that I made on dates, the spelling of proper names, etc.

On several occasions duly authorized persons have asked for permission to inspect portions of the Harry Hopkins papers and such permission has been granted. In December, 1949, charges were made from highly irresponsible sources that Hopkins had presented the secret of the atomic bomb "on a silver platter" to the Russians. As a result of this, photostatic copies of all Hopkins' documents relating in any way to the atom bomb project were made available to Senator Brien McMahon, Chairman of the Joint (Congressional) Committee on Atomic Energy.

All of the Hopkins papers have now been turned over by his heirs to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. They will become, together with the Roosevelt papers, the property of the American people. Future students will be able to inspect every word of the basic material from which this book was written.

R. E. S.

February 5, 1950.



consider finishing the work on the book. I said I would do anything I could for Harry's memory, but I had no conception of what the task would involve. I knew that this book was to be limited to the war years—and that was the one period when I had close associations with Roosevelt and Hopkins—but I did not know what form the book was taking, nor how far Hopkins had got with it, nor how much of his writing was based on memory and how much on documentation. It was obvious that I could not attempt to perpetrate a fake by carrying on the book as though it had all been done by Hopkins; but it occurred to me that I might have to start off with the lame admission: "At this point Hopkins died, so the rest of his story can be no more than a series of fragments." When I finished the Hollywood job and returned to New York some weeks later I discovered that Hopkins had not written so much as the words "Chapter One," but that the documentation was enormous. There were some forty filing cabinets packed with papers in the Hopkins house, and a great many more in a warehouse, the latter being records of the New Deal years which I have never seen. Fortunately Hopkins had engaged an assistant, Sidney Hyman, who had been working for eight months putting the papers into order in folders marked "Casablanca Conference," "Aid for Russia—1943," etc., so that, in the months that it took me merely to read them, I could proceed chronologically and begin to get a sense of narrative. I could also begin to see where the holes were in the record and what parts of it were obscure or confusing to me, and I decided that I must do some interviewing in an effort to gain fuller information and clarification. This led to a considerable amount of traveling and correspondence, and the work, which I at first estimated might take as much as a year to complete, has gone on for two and a half years with very little respite, morning, noon or night.

The first reading of the papers was an exciting experience for me, and I must confess that this sense of excitement has continued through all the labor involved. For I found here so many answers to so many questions that had been piling up in my mind when I was near to high authority: I found solution

the red corpuscles which carry the oxygen through the life blood of democracy; he indicated the depth of this conviction in words that he wrote (on the subject of future relations with Russia) which appear in the final chapter of this book.

Looking backward, as I have been compelled to do so constantly throughout this work, it seems to me that the hostility of so large a part of the press to his Administration was essential to Roosevelt—as an inspiration even more than as a deterrent—and that he would not have been the President he was without it. He would never have thrived in an atmosphere of cloying unanimity.

Of all the attacks upon Hopkins, the one that probably angered and amazed him most was the fantastic charge that, in the fall of 1943, he had plotted behind the scenes in the White House to have General Marshall removed from his position as Chief of Staff and "kicked upstairs" to some sinecure command in Europe. (This is in Chapter XXX.) I became very interested in this, for the Hopkins papers provided considerable evidences of the influences brought to bear on the President, but no indication as to why, at the second Cairo Conference, Roosevelt suddenly announced that Eisenhower instead of Marshall would be the supreme commander of OVERLORD the major invasion of Europe—and no sinecure). I attempted to find out what was the determining factor in this tremendous decision. I went to Washington and talked to Admiral King. He gave me his recollection in very precise terms (he gave me a great deal more invaluable information and guidance in the preparation of this book). I talked to Laurence Steinhardt, John J. McCloy and Lewis Douglas, all of whom had been present at Cairo, and to Averell Harriman and Charles E. Bohlen who had been at the immediately preceding Teheran Conference. I received General "Hap" Arnold's version by letter. I went to London and saw Winston Churchill, who sent me fourteen typewritten pages of answers to a questionnaire I submitted to him, and whom I interviewed on three subsequent occasions. I talked to Churchill's Chief of Staff, General Sir Hastings Ismay (later Lord Ismay) and to Anthony Eden, Lord Beaverbrook, Brendan Bracken and many other associates

also had the benefit of great aid from Miss Grace Tully, Frank C. Walker, Samuel I. Rosenman, Aubrey Williams and Commander C. R. Thompson in reading and checking the manuscript, or parts thereof, but this certainly does not involve any of them in responsibility for the whole.

One afternoon and evening in Washington Leon Henderson was good enough to arrange a meeting for me at his house which lasted for some eight hours. Present were: Robert Kerr, who had been a very close friend of Hopkins since their days together at Grinnell College; Miss Jane Hoey and Mrs. Frances Kelley, who had been associated with Hopkins when he first went into social welfare work in New York City and continued with him throughout the New Deal years; Aubrey Williams, Isador Lubin, Miss Ellen Woodward, Howard Hunter, Colonel Lawrence Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur E. Goldschmidt and Henderson, all of whom were associated with the Relief Program. Copious notes were taken at this meeting by Sidney Hyman and my secretary, Miss Grace Murphy, both of whom have worked with me steadily from the beginning to the end of this book. As a result of this session I was guided in the exploration of many channels of Hopkins' career of which I had previously known little or nothing. Later, I had a long talk and correspondence with Hopkins' sister, Mrs. Adah Aime, and correspondence with his first wife, Mrs. Ethel Gross Hopkins, and their surviving sons, David and Robert; also with Dr. Lewis Hopkins (Harry's brother), with Dr. John Nollen (formerly President of Grinnell College) and with Dr. Edward A. Steiner, one of the most distinguished of Grinnell professors. I had an extremely pleasant and enlightening session at lunch with Hopkins' stalwart opponent and comrade in arms, Harold L. Ickes.

The list is very large of those whom I have interviewed one or more times, or with whom I have corresponded. Some of the interviews were conducted by Hyman alone. I should give here a personal word of appreciation to every one of those who have helped me—not, of course, because of any particular interest in my own work but because of a desire to have this story told as accurately and as fully as possible—but I must

apologetically lump a large number of names together in alphabetical order:

Herbert Agar; Joseph Alsop; Paul Appleby; Frank Bane; Bernard M Baruch; Lord Beaverbrook; Mrs. Anna Boettiger; Louis Brownlow; General J. H. Burns; Dr. Vannevar Bush; Lord Cherwell; Marquis Childs; Grenville Clark; Benjamin V. Cohen, Dr. James B Conant, Captain Granville Conway, USN; Oscar Cox, Wayne Coy; Dr. Samuel H. Cross, Joseph E Davies; Chester Davis, Clarence Dykstra, Stephen Early, Morris Ernst; Dr. Herbert Evatt, Colonel Philip R. Faymonville; Herbert Feis, Judge Jerome Frank, Justice Felix Frankfurter, Dr. James R. Fulton, Richard V Gilbert, Dr Jacob Goldberg, Philip Graham, Lord Halifax, Robert Hannegan, William D Hassett; Frances Head, General Sir Leslie Hollis, Herschel Johnson; John Kingsbury, Fiorello La Guardia, Thomas W. Lamont; Dr. William Langer; Lord Layton, Lord Leathers, Walter Lippmann; Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, Oliver Lyttelton, Archibald MacLeish, General Robert McClure Dr Ross T. McIntire, Wing Commander D C McKinley Admiral John McCrea; John E Masten, Charles E Merriam Dr James Alexander Miller, Jean Monnet, Henry Morgenthau, Jr, Edward R. Murrow, Robert Nathan, David K Niles Robert P Patterson, Frederick Polangin, Quentin Reynolds Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr, Elmo Roper Beardsley Ruml Bishop Bernard Sheil, Admiral Forrest Sherman Victor Sholis, Harold Smith, Admiral Harold R Stark, Sir William Stephenson, Edward Stettinius, Robert Stevens Raymond Swing, Herbert Bayard Swope, Myron C Taylor Dorothy Thompson, Rexford Tugwell, Mrs. Edwin M Watson Sumner Welles, Mrs Wendell Willkie, General Arthur Wilson Ira Wolfert

I also had a brief talk with Andrei Gromyko When I told him that I had undertaken to write a book based on the papers of the late Harry Hopkins and that I should like to consult authorities of the Soviet Union in connection with it, he said that such a book might be helpful—and, again, it might not.

One name that is conspicuously absent from the list of those that I interviewed is that of Eleanor Roosevelt. I have seen her on a number of occasions while I have [illegible] on this

book, and I know that if I had asked her for help she would have given it with her own incomparable generosity, but I simply could not bring myself to put any questions to her, because her memories are her own, and I felt reluctant to intrude upon any part of them.

I have received aid and guidance from a great many others with whom I have talked casually, and from persons unknown to me who, having heard that this book was in process of preparation, have kindly written me about contacts that they had with Harry Hopkins. Of course I have attempted to read all of the books about the Roosevelt era and the Second World War, and this has not been the least part of the labor involved for it has seemed, at times, that the books were coming out at the rate of one a day. Unquestionably the best of these books, in my opinion—and pending the publication of Eisenhower's memoirs and the completion of Churchill's—have been *The Roosevelt I Knew,* by Frances Perkins, and *On Active Service in Peace and War,* by Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy. There have been some other publications which, I hope, posterity will view with extreme suspicion.

I must express my appreciation to Miss Phyllis Moir and Mrs. Eva Marks, who worked for a time with Miss Murphy and Hyman and me in New York, and also to Alex. A. Whelan, who worked with me on the final stages of this book in England, and to Sam Simon and the admirable staff of the Hart Stenographic Bureau in New York. I also want to express my gratitude to Miss Lucy Mitchell, Victor Samrock, William Fields and others of the Playwrights' Company who gave me great help and also a long leave of absence from my usual professional activities.

When I started writing this book, I spent some time considering whether to use the proper courtesy titles in referring to living persons. But I felt it would be both cumbersome and absurd to write, for instance, "Roosevelt then cabled to Mr. Churchill, etc." Similarly, I have avoided to the greatest possible extent the complexities of changing military titles—for example, "Lieutenant-Colonel (later Colonel, later Brigadier General, later Major General, later Lieutenant General, later

General, later General of the Army) Dwight D. Eisenhower."

As to the problem of footnotes—as an inveterate reader of

[illegible]

tom of the page and sometimes forced me to read on through the bottoms of subsequent pages before I could get back tc the middle of the sentence from which I had been diverted and resume the narrative Therefore, in this book, I have indulged myself in the luxury of no interruptions by footnotes all of which are put in the back of the book. I have, however interrupted some of the documentary material with parenthetical notes, largely for explanatory purposes

I determined when I started this work that I must attempt tc immerse myself so completely in the period of which I wa: writing that I would not permit myself to be influenced b: subsequent events, I felt that I must not let my judgment o something that I was considering in the Hopkins papers—concerning, for instance, the desperate need to get aid to Russi: during the Battle of Stalingrad—be colored in any way by wha I had read in that morning's newspaper This was a great dea easier than I had expected It was a privilege to escape fron the appalling and inexplicable present into the days when, a Herbert Agar has written, "Good men dared to trust eacl other," when "the good and the bad, the terror and the splendor, were too big for most of us," when 'our spirits and ou brains were splitting at the seams, which may be why so man are today denying that life was ever like that " This book tell a part of the story of those days, and I can assure the reader tha I have withheld no important part of the record as it was know: to me or made available to me in the papers of my frien Harry Hopkins I hope that all the rest of the record will nov be made public, and the sooner the better, for there are lesson in it which the people of the world need most urgently to lear

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

VOLUME 1: The Men Who Shaped Our Lives

PART I: *BEFORE 1941—THE EDUCATION OF HARRY HOPKINS*

CHAPTER I

Foreword

DURING the years when Harry Hopkins lived as a guest in the White House, he was generally regarded as a sinister figure, a backstairs intriguer, an Iowan combination of Machiavelli, Svengali and Rasputin. Hostility toward him was by no means limited to those who hated Franklin Delano Roosevelt. There were many of Roosevelt's most loyal friends and associates, in and out of the Cabinet, who disliked Hopkins intensely and resented the extraordinary position of influence and authority which he held. He was unquestionably a political liability to Roosevelt, a convenient target for all manner of attacks directed at the President himself, and many people wondered why Roosevelt kept him around.

But the Presidential aide who developed in the war years—and of whom General (later Secretary of State) George C. Marshall said, "He rendered a service to his country which will never even vaguely be appreciated"—was in large measure Roosevelt's own creation. Roosevelt deliberately educated Hopkins in the arts and sciences of politics and of war and then gave him immense powers of decision for no reason other than that he liked him, trusted him and needed him. A welfare worker from the Cornbelt, who tended to regard money (his own as well as other people's) as somet[illegible]

quickly as possible, a studiously unsuave and often intolerant and tactless reformer, Hopkins was widely different from Roosevelt in birth, breeding and manners. But there were qualities in him, including some of the regrettable ones, which Roosevelt admired and enjoyed, perhaps partly because they were so different. One of the best statements of this relationship was written by the perceptive Raymond Clapper in 1938:

> Many New Dealers have bored Roosevelt with their solemn earnestness. Hopkins never does. He knows instinctively when to ask, when to keep still, when to press, when to hold back; when to approach Roosevelt direct, when to go at him roundabout . . . Quick, alert, shrewd, bold, and carrying it off with a bright Hell's bells air, Hopkins is in all respects the inevitable Roosevelt favorite.

Clapper wrote that description in the New Deal years when Hopkins had lofty political ambitions of his own. His position was drastically changed during the war years, when all personal ambition had been knocked out of him by near-fatal illness. Yet I heard from a distinguished European, who came into contact with both men for the first time in these years, a description of [illegible] relationship that almost exactly tallied with Clapper's; this [illegible]er said: "Hopkins has an almost 'feminine' sensitivity to [illegible]oosevelt's moods. He seems to know precisely when Roosevelt wants to consider affairs of State and when he wants to escape from the awful consciousness of the Presidency." (While agreeing with that statement, I must add that I don't understand quite why this kind of sensitivity should be described as "feminine"; I have heard of women who could bring up disagreeable subjects at inopportune moments just as well as any man.)

A revealing story of Roosevelt's regard for Hopkins was told by Wendell Willkie, who was not one of the more fervent admirers of either man. It will be remembered that, after his defeat at the polls in November, 1940, Willkie provided a fine example of good citizenship and good sportsmanship in accepting the verdict. Supporting Roosevelt's foreign policy, he felt it would be useful for him to visit Britain which was then fighting alone against Hitler's seemingly all-conquering German war machine and was being bombed night after night with all the power and all the fury that the Nazi world conquerors could

project by air. Roosevelt readily agreed to Willkie's proposal and invited him to come to the White House on January 19, 1941, the day before the first Third Term Inaugural in American history.

At that time, Hopkins was in England, having gone there to explore the prodigious character of Winston Churchill and to report thereon to Roosevelt (which reports will be recorded in later chapters of this book), so Roosevelt suggested to Willkie that he must be sure to see Hopkins when he arrived in London Willkie did not greet this suggestion with much enthusiasm He probably had more cordial dislike and contempt for Hopkins than for anyone else in the Administration against which he had fought so recently and so bitterly. Indeed, he asked Roosevelt a pointed question "Why do you keep Hopkins so close to you? You surely must realize that people distrust him and they resent his influence" Willkie quoted Roosevelt as replying "I can understand that you wonder why I need that half-man around me" (The "half-man" was an allusion to Hopkins extreme physical frailty) "But—someday you may well be sitting here where I am now as President of the United States And when you are, you'll be looking at that door over there and knowing that practically everybody who walks through it wants something out of you You'll learn what a lonely job this is, and you'll discover the need for somebody like Harry Hopkins who asks for nothing except to serve you"

Roosevelt did not talk much about the loneliness of high office. Indeed, in his letters, he was forever saying that he was having a "grand," "fine" or 'bully time But that loneliness was a reality Roosevelt was naturally a gregarious man who preferred talking to reading or writing Like anybody else, he wanted to get away from his job now and then, but people wouldn't let him do it Even in a poker game, while the cards were being shuffled, some member of the Cabinet was apt to interject, "By the way, Mr President, the boys over at the Bureau of the Budget are taking what I consider a dangerously narrow-minded point of view toward our program—and I'm sure if you study the details you'll agree that—" Roosevelt became more and more suspicious of the pe

with him and kept more and more to himself. When he could choose his own company, he preferred to be with old friends and relatives who had nothing to do with government and with whom he could talk about the old days in Hyde Park and about his innumerable, varied plans for his own future when he would retire to private life. It was characteristic of him that, when he went on his last journey to Warm Springs in a belated attempt to get some rest, his only companions apart from his personal staff were two gentle cousins of his own generation, Margaret Suckley and Laura Delano—and also his dog, Fala.

It is true that, in their final years, a special bond developed between Roosevelt and Hopkins, due to the fact that both men had fought with death at close range, both were living on borrowed time. But Hopkins achieved his favored position long before he had his own first encounter with death—and long before he could be described as one who crossed the Presidential threshold wanting nothing. In the F.E.R.A. and W.P.A. days, he was not reluctant to use his close friendship with the President for the advancement of his own interests and those of the agencies with which he was personally concerned.

I first met Hopkins on a week end on Long Island early in September, 1938, under the hospitable roof of Herbert and Margaret Swope. At the time I was keeping a diary (I stopped doing so regularly in June, 1940, which is just when I should have started) and I noted at the time: "Long talk at breakfast with Harry Hopkins, the W.P.A. Administrator, a profoundly shrewd and faintly ominous man." That was all I put down, but I remember that on that occasion Hopkins talked to me very agreeably, revealing a considerable knowledge of and enthusiasm for the theater. He took obvious pride in the achievements of W.P.A. in the Federal Theater and Arts Projects, and I believed he had every right to be proud. But I did not quite like him. He used such phrases as, "We've got to crack down on the bastards." I could not disagree with his estimate of the targets in question but I did not like the idea of cracking down. I had the characteristically American suspicion of anyone who appeared to be getting "too big for his breeches." A year or so later, when he was beaten down and chastened by terrible

those old garden shears of his and snips it. And when he's talking to some foreign dignitary, he knows how to slump back in his chair and put his feet up on the conference table and say, 'Oh, *yeah?*'" It was this same ability to break all speed records in getting down to brass tacks that endeared Hopkins to the heart of Winston Churchill, who has said:

> I have been present at several great conferences where twenty or more of the most important executive personages were gathered together. When the discussion flagged and all seemed baffled, it was on these occasions Harry Hopkins would rap out a deadly question: "Surely, Mr. President, here is the point we have got to settle. Are we going to face it or not?" Faced it always was and being faced, was conquered.

One time Churchill, Roosevelt and Hopkins were having lunch together upstairs in the Oval Study in the White House. They were thrashing out in advance major problems which were coming up for discussion at a full dress conference to be held later that afternoon. As usual, both Roosevelt and Churchill were wandering far afield. (Churchill might have been refighting the Battle of Blenheim and Roosevelt recalling the tactics employed by John Paul Jones when the *Bonhomme Richard* defeated the *Serapis.*) It was for Hopkins to bring these soaring imaginations down to earth, to contemplation of the topic immediately at hand.

When he did so, with his usual brusqueness, Churchill turned on him and said:

"Harry! When this war is over His Majesty's Government is going to reward you by conferring upon you a noble title."

Hopkins remarked sourly that membership in the House of Lords was one reward that he did not covet. But Churchill went right ahead:

"We have already selected the title. You are to be named, 'Lord Root of the Matter.'"

Hopkins had very little of Roosevelt's or Churchill's powers of vision and almost none of their historical sense. He looked to the immediate rather than the long-term result. He was an implementer rather than a planner. He was accustomed to divide people he knew into two groups, the "talkers" and the

"doers," and he placed himself proudly in the second category. When Roosevelt contemplated a subject, his mind roamed all around it; he considered it in its relation to past, present and future. Hopkins, contemplating the same subject, was interested only in thrusting straight through to its heart and then acting on it without further palaver In that respect, Hopkins was remarkably useful to Roosevelt—but Roosevelt was essential to Hopkins

Despite his furious devotion to duty, and despite his persistent ill health, Hopkins had a zest for living which caused him often to revert to the role of a Grinnell (Iowa) College freshman when turned loose in the Big Town He loved the race tracks ($2 window), the theaters and night clubs, he loved the society of the fashionable, the beautiful, the talented, the gay and of such taverners as Sherman Billingsley, Jack and Charlie, and Toots Shor He was pleased and rather proud whenever the hostile press denounced him as a "playboy That made him feel glamorous The President's physician, Admiral Ross T. McIntire, once said 'Our biggest job is to keep Harry from ever feeling completely well When he thinks he's restored to health he goes out on the town—and from there to the Mayo Clinic." Hopkins was not a hard drinker—he was physically incapable of being one—but almost any drink that he did take was more than was good for him

Roosevelt regarded the mild frivolities of his wayward friend with amusement not unmixed with considerable concern His attitude was that of an indulgent parent toward an errant son whose wild oats, while forgivable, must be strictly rationed

Following is a handwritten letter, dated May 21, 1939, during one of the many periods when Hopkins was bedridden with wasting sickness

DEAR HARRY—

Good Boy! Teacher says you have gained 2 pounds

2 Lbs = 2$

Keep on gaining and put the reward into your little Savings Bank But you must not gain more than 50 lbs because Poppa has not got more than 50$

As ever

F

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 26
'39

Dear Harry -

Good Boy! Teacher says you have gained 2 pounds.

2 lbs = 2 $

Keep on gaining & put the reward into your little Savings Bank.

But you must not gain more than 50 lbs. because Poppy has not got more than 50 $

As ever

F.D.R.

Clipped to that letter were two one-dollar bills. They are still clipped to it as this is written, eight years later. There was not a great deal more money left in the Hopkins estate.

Another letter of May 18, 1944, when Hopkins was in the Ashford General Hospital

DEAR HARRY —

It is grand to get the reports of how well you are getting on at White Sulphur Springs, and I have had a mighty nice letter from [Dr. Andrew B.] Rivers—couched mostly in medical terms—which, however, I have had translated!

The main things I get from it are two First, that it is a good thing to connect up the plumbing and put your sewerage system into operating condition The second is (and this comes from others in authority) that you have got to lead not the life of an invalid but the life of common or garden sense

I, too, over one hundred years older than you are, have come to the same realization and I have cut my drinks down to one and a half cocktails per evening and nothing else—not one complimentary highball or night cap Also, I have cut my cigarettes down from twenty or thirty a day to five or six a day Luckily they still taste rotten but it can be done

The main gist of this is to plead with you to stay away until the middle of June at the earliest I don t want you back until then If you do come back before then you will be extremely unpopular in Washington, with the exception of Cissy Patterson who wants to kill you off as soon as possible—just as she does me

My plans—my medical laboratory work not being finished—are to be here about three days a week and to spend the other four days a week at Hyde Park, Shangri-la or on the Potomac For later in the Summer I have various hens sitting but I don t know when they will hatch out

I had a really grand time down at Bernie s [Baruch]—slept twelve hours out of the twenty four, sat in the sun, never lost my temper, and decided to let the world go hang The interesting thing is the world didn t hang

I have a terrible pile in my basket but most of the stuff has answered itself anyway

I am off to Hyde Park to stay until Tuesday or Wednesday next

Lots of love to you both Tell Louise to use the old fashioned hatpin if you don t behave!

It is of incidental interest to note that the foregoing letter was written two weeks before the Allied Forces were due to land in Normandy, a time when Roosevelt was bearing a formidable weight of responsibility and anxiety. Roosevelt was all too well aware that the attempt at invasion of Hitler's "Fortress of Europe" was incalculably hazardous and might fail; the English Channel might become, in the oft-reiterated words of Winston Churchill, a "river of blood." But Roosevelt simply could not be obsessed by fears and apprehensions. To say that he took the most terrible moments of the war with apparently insouciant lightness would seem to suggest that he was callous and heartless. He was neither of these things. He had a faculty —and it was always incomprehensible to me—for sloughing off care and worry, no matter how grave the emergency. In the words of his friend, Morris Ernst, "He had humor and gaiety arising out of a deviation from the ordinary pattern of man, which is fear of death." That was most evident at the time of Pearl Harbor. It was this quality which enabled him to survive until victory was in sight.

One time when Hopkins, Samuel I. Rosenman and I were working with him, Roosevelt dictated a paragraph for insertion in a speech. He said something to indicate that the current problems were giving him "sleepless nights." One of us protested: "You may get away with that at the moment, Mr. President, but future historians are bound to find out that every night you go to sleep practically at the moment your head touches the pillow and you don't wake up until at least eight hours later." Roosevelt laughed and eliminated the reference to sleepless nights.

Despite all the differences between their characters and experience, Roosevelt and Hopkins were alike in one important way: they were thoroughly and gloriously unpompous. The predominant qualities in both were unconquerable confidence, courage and good humor.

Frances Perkins has written of Roosevelt that he was "the most complicated human being I ever knew." Henry Morgenthau, Jr., has written, "Roosevelt is an extraordinarily difficult person to describe . . . weary as well as buoyant, frivolous as

was and must forever remain. Roosevelt wrote himself by word and deed in large plain letters which all can read and in terms which all can understand. Whatever the complexity of forces which impelled him, the end result was easily understandable to his countrymen and to the world at large. In his first Inaugural Address as Governor of New York he spoke of the program of social legislation which had been instituted by his predecessor, Alfred E. Smith, and said:

> I object to having this spirit of personal civil responsibility to the State and to the individual which has placed New York in the lead as a progressive commonwealth, described as "humanitarian." It is far more than that. It is the *recognition* that our civilization cannot endure unless we, as individuals, realize our personal responsibility to and dependence on the rest of the world. For it is literally true that the "self-supporting" man or woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved. Consider the bread upon our table, the clothes upon our backs, the luxuries that make life pleasant; how many men worked in sunlit fields, in dark mines, in the fierce heat of molten metal, and among the looms and wheels of countless factories, in order to create them for our use and enjoyment.

In reading those words, it must be remembered that they were spoken in January, 1929, almost a year before the beginnings of economic collapse—four years before the rise of Hitler to power—more than ten years before the start of the Second World War—twelve years before Lend Lease. Yet, those who heard them might have anticipated precisely the principles and policies of the man who was to be Governor for four years and President for twelve. Those words when spoken were extremely radical; it was considered downright Bolshevism to talk of interdependence in those days of the Coolidge boom, rugged individualism and "every man for himself," when the American attitude toward the rest of the world was summed up in that magnificently unanswerable question, "They hired the money, didn't they?"

When you consider the words of Roosevelt's first Albany Inaugural together with those of his first Washington Inaugural you wonder that anyone was ever surprised at what he did

when he became President of the United States—which is hindsight prescience, to be sure, but so is all of history.

When Roosevelt took Hopkins into the White House to live on May 10, 1940, Hopkins was still nominally Secretary of Commerce and such direction as he could give to the affairs of that Department was given largely by telephone. He was to all intents and purposes physically a finished man who might drag out his life for a few years of relative inactivity or who might collapse and die at any time. And it was not only the perilous state of his health that made him seem unlikely to be

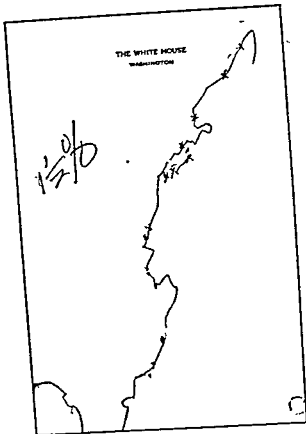
infantry drill, he had never answered general quarters as a able seaman. In the First World War, he had been rejected b the Army and Navy on physical grounds and his war exper ence was limited to welfare work with the Red Cross in th deep South Furthermore, his New Dealer pacifism inclined hi emotionally toward a kind of isolationism However, the fac is that by 1940 Roosevelt valued the peculiar kind of servic rendered and the companionship provided by Hopkins to suc an extent that he converted his friend to war purposes just a surely and as completely as, in the general upheaval of tha same year, a Chicago industrialist named Albert J Brownin, converted his wallpaper factory into a plant for the productio of incendiary bombs

Hopkins was one of the many Americans who believed tha National Defense meant just that If an enemy fleet approache our shores, we would merely line up our own Navy (whicl was always "second to none) like a football team defendin its goal line in the days before the invention of the forwar pass, any hostile ships that might break through the Navy would be handled by our coast defenses Hopkins did have a considerable conception of the importance of air power but again it was on a purely defensive basis so far as the United States was concerned we needed masses of fighting planes to keep invaders and marauders away from our own skies and bombers to sink enemy ships when they ventured wit' ...ge

But Roosevelt educated him in the military facts of life and so did General Marshall for whom Hopkins had profound respect and whose appointment as Chief of Staff he had strongly recommended. It was consistent with Roosevelt's whole character that he should believe in attack as the best means of defense. That was evidenced by his championship of the airplane carrier as a weapon and his advocacy of all measures which permitted the fleet to operate far from home bases for ever-increasing periods of time. (Long before the end of the war our ships could remain in the remote Pacific indefinitely, being able to distill their own fresh water and to take on all necessary fuel, munitions and supplies at sea, an improvement which was not popular with the crews.)

One evening—it was August 15, 1940, when the Battle of Britain was beginning—Roosevelt and Hopkins were talking in the Study at the White House and Roosevelt, who was particularly interested in the possibilities of amphibious warfare, drew a map of the East Coast of the United States, locating the coastal defenses and explaining that they actually could defend less than one and one-half per cent of our coastline. Roosevelt pointed out that an enemy could land an expeditionary force at any one of innumerable points on our shores and therefore, if we were involved in war, it would be highly desirable for us to land on the enemy shores first—as for instance, the northwest coast of Africa.

There were many military men, and General Dwight D. Eisenhower was one of them, who came into contact with Hopkins for the first time in 1941, and all of those to whom I have talked have said substantially the same thing: knowing him only as one of those New Deal "visionaries" (i.e., crackpots) they had been rather dubious of his ability to understand purely military problems but, when they talked with him, were amazed at his grasp of the essentials of grand strategy. That was the result of Roosevelt's teaching and of Hopkins' ready ability to learn. He needed plenty of that ability as the years went by and the problems multiplied in a war that touched every continent and every ocean and the skies above them and ended in the dread birth of the Atomic Age.



Roosevelt's sketch illustrating inadequacy of fixed coastal defenses

At the start of this first chapter I said that there were members of Roosevelt's Cabinet who resented the close relationship of Hopkins and the President. An exception was the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, a lifelong Republican who must have been vigorously opposed to the whole philosophy of W.P.A. and, as a stickler for form, must have been disturbed by the irregularity of Hopkins' extraofficial position of authority. Yet, in his diary, Stimson wrote: "The more I think of it, the more I think it is a Godsend that he [Hopkins] should be at the White House."

The date of that entry was March 5, 1941, when the great Lend-Lease debate was coming to an end, when Hopkins was coming into a position in the world that no man had ever occupied before.

Other officers of the government who did not consider Hopkins' presence in the White House a "Godsend" credited him with the power to exert a baneful influence over Roosevelt, to compel Roosevelt to take actions against his own better judgment and personal inclinations. Indeed, that overworked scholar, the historian of the future, reading various memoirs of this era, may come to the perplexed conclusion that Roosevelt never did anything on his own—that everything good that he accomplished was done at the instigation of the authors of the memoirs, and everything bad was due to "other influences," which usually meant Hopkins. Hopkins always laughed at the suggestion that he was a Svengali, for this implied that Roosevelt must be a sweetly submissive Trilby. Roosevelt was many things, but he was not that.

CHAPTER II

Sioux City to Washington

HOPKINS was born on August 17, 1890, in Sioux City, Iowa, a seemingly immeasurable distance from Hyde Park, New York.

On his fifty-first birthday, he returned to Washington with President Roosevelt after the Atlantic Conference, previous to which he had flown to Moscow via London. A friend asked him about his first encounter with Stalin, and he said, "I couldn't [illegible]

[illegible]

the son of a harness maker from Sioux City—?" Whereupon the friend, who was a somewhat outspoken type, interrupted "Now, for God's sake, Harry—don't give me that old line again You told me when you first set foot in the White House tha there you were, the son of a harness maker—and you said th same thing about your first visit to No 10 Downing Street Can't you ever stop boasting about your humble origin? It' the only sign of pretentiousness I've ever seen in you. And anyway, there have probably been plenty of other harnes makers sons in the Kremlin When you go in there, or anyplac else—all you ought to think about is that you're the persona representative of the President and, by God, you have a *righ* to be there'"

Hopkins was impressed by this point In 1945 when he re turned from his final trip to Moscow, which was also his las mission in the public service he answered a congratulator message by saying, It isn't so difficult to do a job like this rea sonably well when you have the whole force of the Unite States Government behind you

He was the fourth of five children born to David Aldona an Anna Pickett Hopkins His brothers were Lewis, John Emor and Rome, and his sister Adah (who became Mrs Frank Aime) An old friend of the family, Robert Kerr, has said To anyon interested in genetics, Harry presented a wonderful study as combination of the characters of his father and mother"

David Hopkins—known as Al and Dad —was evidentl a charming salty, easygoing but erratic and somewhat shiftle man who was always among the most popular citizens of an town where he happened to be living but who did not stay fo long in any one place He had been, at various times, a news paper "carrier," prospector, harness maker, trav[illegible]esma

friendship with James Bryce and the members of the London Economic Club and the Fabian Society at the time when the Sidney Webbs and Bernard Shaw were first forming what Beatrice Webb called "this union of pity, hope and faith." Indeed, when Bryce was revising his classic work, *The American Commonwealth,* he went to spend several weeks of collaboration in Grinnell with Professor Macy. The great British Ambassador and scholar lived at the Macy house, which was a modest one, with no servants except for a part-time cook. On his first night, Bryce put his shoes outside the door, in the traditional British country house fashion. Professor Macy took the shoes to the kitchen and shined them himself—and this process was repeated through every night of Bryce's stay in Grinnell; indeed, this distinguished British statesman died without ever knowing that his collaborator and host in Grinnell, Iowa, had worked overtime every night to shine his shoes. But the scholarly associations established between Macy and Bryce were transmitted to Harry Hopkins and were of vital importance at the time (in 1941) when Britain faced death at hands of Hitlerism.

There was another great teacher at Grinnell, Dr. Edward A. Steiner, and from him Hopkins gained his first knowledge of the social sciences and of the strange, remote, gigantic mass that was Russia. Steiner, a Jew, had been born in Czechoslovakia and graduated from Heidelberg, then emigrated to the United States where he became ordained as a Congregationalist minister. He went to Russia in 1903 and stayed with Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana, gathering material for his book on "Tolstoy, the Man" (he described the Countess Tolstoy as "my reluctant hostess"). His course at Grinnell was called Applied Christianity and was, in fact, sociology. Hopkins was permanently influenced by what he learned from Steiner on the Christian ethic and the teachings of Tolstoy. He had *War and Peace* in mind when, in July, 1941, he flew over the vast Russian forests on the way to Moscow when it came the turn of the Soviet Union to face death at the hands of Nazi Germany.

In the Steiner course, Hopkins had an "A." In Macy's courses

he averaged "B" But in English composition he was usually a low "D"—and once an "E" (total failure)—which is no surprise to those who have read any of his writings. When he talked, his language was extraordinarily vivid and original and to the point. When he wrote for publication, he was apt to become self-conscious, sententious and awkward.

The influence of Grinnell—the college and the town itself—was always with Hopkins. He became something of an expatriate in the gaudy atmosphere of Jimmy Walker's New York and then he became in effect a citizen of the world, but he never became urbane All of the Hopkins family left Grinnell, scattering over the continent Dad Hopkins spent his last years happily combining business with pleasure in Spokane, Washington, where he was proprietor of the bowling alleys in the Davenport Hotel The old man had an enduring grudge against Grinnell. There had been a drive for funds to build a hospital there and Dad Hopkins pledged a handsome contribution but, when it came time to pay it, he was in one of his recurrent phases of extreme financial embarrassment This led him into a violent argument with the hospital board members and there was even a threat of legal proceedings which was averted when friends quietly chipped in enough money to meet the pledge Dad Hopkins eventually paid this off but he never forgot nor forgave the authorities Years later, he told Harry quite calmly that he was dying of cancer of the stomach and then he exploded, "And you can bury me any God-damned place except Grinnell!" When he did die, in 1930, Harry was notified by his brother Lewis that burial would be in the family plot at Grinnell. He did not obey his father and raise any protest for he knew that his mother wanted the burial to be there and she was the one who was living This good woman died in 1932, just when her son Harry was on the threshold of fame and, in some quarters, notoriety

In 1939, after his appointment as Secretary of Commerce, Harry Hopkins revisited his native State—a visit which, as will be seen, was charged with political implications—and he stopped off at Grinnell to visit his old friends the Kerrs and

to speak to the student body at the college. Most of this speech is given herewith because, being largely unprepared, it sounds like Hopkins when he talked without benefit of ghost writers:

> When I hear people talking about what a College is for—its curriculum—I know the plural of that too, I know that one of the best things in College is to have fun. You have plenty of time later in life to get banged around or to get solemn about it, but here you have great fun, and I think that is good, of and by itself. . . .
>
> I was around this town for many years, and I found that this town had a government, had wards, and I learned that there were townships in the counties, and that there was a State Legislature. I did not know much about it. I heard they collected taxes. I used to hear rumors that the railroads owned the Legislature in the State of Iowa. I learned later it was true. I had the vaguest knowledge about government. The less government interfered with me around this town, the better I liked it. I didn't even like to have the College authorities interfere with me too much. . . .
>
> Since then, and for the last 27 or 28 years, I have lived around various parts of the country, and, in more recent years of my life, have come in intimate contact with government. I have seen government wage wars; I have seen government baffled and unable to meet economic problems; I have seen and lived with a government which has struck out boldly attempting to meet our economic problems. I have lived to see the time when the Government of the United States worries about how much a farmer gets for his corn, wheat, or cotton. I have lived to see the time when a farmer gets a check signed by the Treasurer of the United States for doing something. I see old people getting pensions; see unemployed people getting checks from the United States Government; College students getting checks signed by the United States Government.
>
> I have seen people battling for control of the United States Government, and many years ago, when I first saw this struggle, I wondered why they made such an effort to control it, and I saw great and powerful interests spend a lot of money in an attempt to control government. I saw them do that, and you don't have to go very far away to see them still doing it. Make no mistake about it, there are many interests in this country who want to control government whether it be local, State, or Federal. I have no quarrel with that theory. I think it's perfectly proper for any group of people in a Democracy to do anything they can to influence government. As long as the farmers out here talked it out by holding a lot of meetings and writing articles, nobody paid any attention to them, but when they formed a political bloc and went to the State Legislature, the Con-

gressmen, and the Senators, and said, "Either you do what we want you to do or we won't send you back." Congressmen and everyone who ran for office in this great farm belt, then began to make political speeches saying what they would do for the farmers. Each candidate wanted to do more than the other. I think that is good. . . .

In this last Congress, 83 Democratic Congressmen were pitched out and 83 Republican Congressmen went in because they promised bigger and better old age pensions. I think, politically, they were very smart and intelligent. I don't see anything wrong about that. I do not see anything wrong in these pressure groups of one kind or another trying to influence government. They have simply taken a lesson out of the public utilities and railroads. They ran most of the State governments 25 and 50 years ago. You don't have to go back more than 50 years, and you will find that members of the State Legislature were on the payroll of the railroads. You don't have to go back very far, and *you will find a great many of the lawyers were working for the utilities.* I could make a speech about the lawyers, but I will just skip it.

I have seen this government at close range working with the American people, and I have seen them do these things, and I have a firm conviction, they are going to keep on doing them. It does not make any difference what Party is in power, the government is going to treat the people in ways we have never dreamed of before, and, therefore, government should be good.

With the world situation the way it is today, almost a mad house, with hate and fear sweeping the world, with this nation almost the last stronghold of Democracy, with the American people determined to maintain that Democracy, the kind of government that we have is extremely important, and it is the one thing in America that is important.

This government is ours whether it be local, county, State, or Federal. It doesn't belong to anybody but the people of America. Don't treat it as an impersonal thing; don't treat it as something to sneer at; treat it as something that belongs to you. I don't care how much you criticize it or to what Party you belong, just remember that this government belongs to you and needs you, and it is going to take brains and skill to run it in the future because this country cannot continue to exist as a democracy with 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 people unemployed. It just can't be done. We have got to find a way of living in America in which every person in it shares in the national income, in such a way, that poverty in America is abolished. There is no reason why the people of America should dwell in poverty. A way must be found, and a way will be found.

And, finally, let me say this. Growing up in this town, moving to the East, and having been almost every place in this Union, I have

grown to have a tremendous affection and love for this country—the fields—the land—and the people. Nothing must happen to it, and those of us who get a chance, and many of us will because of the things this nation has done for us, should and will be motivated when the time comes to serve it well.

That Grinnell speech, incidentally, contained one of the few public references that Hopkins ever made to the prospect or the actuality of another World War until 1941 when he himself was so heavily involved in it.

When Hopkins was about to graduate from Grinnell College he went around to see Dr. Steiner to say good-by. He had not made up his mind as to his future career: he had talked of going into the newspaper business in Bozeman, Montana, in partnership with Chester Davis who also was to serve with Franklin Roosevelt as War Food Administrator. But Hopkins avoided journalism by a narrow margin. Dr. Steiner showed Hopkins a telegram he had received from Christadora House a charitable institution on Avenue B in the New York slums The telegram asked if Steiner could suggest a Grinnell studen to act as counselor that summer at the Christadora camp fo poor children near Bound Brook, New Jersey, and Steiner aske Hopkins if he might be interested in this temporary job. De spite his mother's influence, Hopkins had never been muc interested in missionary or social work; he had been identifie with the Y.M.C.A. in college but this was merely a part c regular undergraduate activities. Nevertheless, he jumped a the opportunity offered through Dr. Steiner, not because he ha any intention of making a career as a welfare worker but be cause this was a chance to get to New York. The newspaper i Bozeman could wait until he had had a good look at the Bi Town. Chester Davis, President of the Federal Reserve of St. Louis, has written me:

The correspondence with a view to getting Harry out to M never got out of the pipe dream stage Harry had done some wo the Scarlet and Black, the Grinnell College newspaper, as I had and he would have made a good newspaper man. . . . It w Appleby whom we did bring out to Montana for that job. [a member of the Grinnell Class of 1913, was Under Secretar culture in the Second World War.]

On the way east, Hopkins stopped off at Chicago for the Republican Convention, worming his way into it by posing as Elihu Root's "secretary" (again he was carrying the catcher's mask). He heard Theodore Roosevelt shout that thieves were running the Republican party—that the renomination of William Howard Taft was "naked theft." That was the year T.R. bolted and formed the Bull Moose party. Hopkins also attended the Democratic Convention in Baltimore and saw some of the battle of William Jennings Bryan to nominate Woodrow W-' son, but I do not know what guise he assumed to get into th one. The sight and sound of the political giants excited hi and for the next twenty years he nourished a desire to becor a combatant in that bloody arena

On arrival at the Christadora Summer Camp at Bound Broc he confessed that he was bewildered by his first contacts wi the products of the East Coast slums He had certainly knov poverty in his own family and friendly neighborhood in t Middle West, but that kind of poverty involved the mai tenance of a kind of dignity and self-respect and independen it did not involve hunger, or squalor, or degradation T poverty of the city slums was, to him, something alien, shoc ing and enraging At Bound Brook, he said later, he was broug sharply to the realization that, "I'd never seen a Jewish b before in my life" This was his real birth as a crusader f reform. The missionary impulse that he had inherited from l mother became the most powerful force within him As w other changes in the circumstances of his life he adjusted hi self to his new environment with remarkable rapidity Af two months in the camp at Bound Brook he was the zealc champion of the underprivileged which he would always main He went to work for Christadora House and began learn of life as it was lived on the lower East Side of New Yo which was as complete a sociological laboratory as one cou find anywhere on earth He worked for his board and lodg and, I believe, $5.00 a month pocket money. In 1912 N York was still the fabulous "Bagdad on The Subway" of Henry, whose stories were just beginning to achieve posthu success. It was still the city of Diamond Jim Brady an

Tenderloin and Millionaire's Row and the Five Points, where young Al Capone was learning his trade. And it was still the city of Tammany which had enjoyed a half century of corruption and free enterprise on the loose under Boss Tweed, "Honest John" Kelly and Richard Croker. But the forces of reform were finding a glamorous champion in John Purroy Mitchel, "the Young Torquemada," and were mobilizing to drive the rascals out (temporarily). This cause was aided greatly by the results of an event which occurred in that summer of 1912: the murder of Herman Rosenthal, proprietor of one of the town's many gambling houses. This appalling story, broken by another young Middle Westerner, Herbert Swope, helped to elect Mitchel Mayor, and Charles S. Whitman, who prosecuted the case, became Governor of the State.

The day after the execution of the "Four Gunmen"—who bore the unforgettable names of Gyp the Blood, Dago Frank, Lefty Louie and Whitey Lewis—Hopkins was attending a meeting of a boy's club in one of the East Side settlement houses where he was giving inspirational talks on civic betterment. He was horrified and profoundly puzzled when the boy who was the leader of his group arose and said very seriously to the meeting, "I move that the whole club stand up for two minutes in honor of the four gunmen who died today." The motion was carried unanimously. Hopkins mentioned this discouraging incident in an article he wrote for the *Survey Graphic* and asked but did not attempt to answer the question: "What is responsible for the fact that thirty-five boys, all under sixteen, should wish to rise to their feet to pay homage to four men whose crimes their keen sense of right and wrong would naturally condemn under normal circumstances?"

Hopkins worked very hard then as always and had neither time nor money for exploration in the more enjoyable institutions of New York but he did *find* a way to get into the Metropolitan Opera House free by enlisting in the organized claques for such stars of the period as Enrico Caruso and Geraldine Farrar.

During his first winter in New York, Hopkins went to see Dr. John A. Kingsbury, a scholarly, humane and humorous

many Club House. Or he could get food in a breadline and perhaps shelter in a flophouse and he could seek relief for his family from one of the numerous private charitable organizations which overlapped one another and competed with one another, often with bitter jealousy, for prestige and funds. However, there were distinct signs of change in the old anachronistic order, and the spokesmen of change were such as Kingsbury, the great Lillian Wald, Henry Bruere and William H. Mathews. Hopkins' report on unemployment was one of the most searching that had ever been made and showed remarkable understanding for one only twenty-three years old and fresh from the Cornbelt where such conditions were unheard of. His period of apprenticeship ended and he was given a regular job with A.I.C.P.

He was put in charge of an emergency employment bureau which took care of—or, at least, did its best to care for—destitute transients in New York. There were many of these: some were hopeless derelicts who had drifted to the panhandler's paradise, but most were bewildered people who had come to the Big City full of hope and determination and the conviction that fabulous fortune awaited them expectantly around every corner (this was still the age of Horatio Alger). On rare occasions, Hopkins was able to guide them to jobs. The vast majority, however, could only be directed to a Salvation Army soup kitchen or a mission where floor space was available for sleeping. Hopkins advised many of the younger ones to swallow their pride and write to their families for the price of a ticket back to the home town, and doubtless some of them resented these words of wisdom from one who was himself so freshly out of Iowa. If they had doubts about his right to advise them, he was developing more doubts of his own; he was beginning to wonder what kind of country this really was which vaunted its lofty principles of freedom and equality and yet allowed such miserable conditions of injustice to persist.

When Mayor Mitchel took office in January, 1914, it seemed that the chance had come to do something about these conditions. The new Mayor appointed Kingsbury Commissioner of Public Charities. Within this Department was the Board of



tempted to enlist in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, but was kept out by defective vision—a "detached retina" in his left eye. He finally joined the Red Cross and was sent to New Orleans to direct the Gulf Division. Later, he was promoted to direct all Red Cross activities in the Southeastern States with headquarters in Atlanta. In 1921 he returned to New York to look for a job and immediately got one through his old friend and benefactor, John Kingsbury, who had served with the Red Cross in France and then, after the war, had become Director of the Milbank Fund and therefore a highly influential figure in the whole field of organized charities in New York. This fund had been established by Albert G. Milbank, Chairman of the Borden (Milk) Company, largely for the promotion of public health, and Kingsbury set up a new division within the structure of A.I.C.P. for the study of health conditions throughout New York and the formulation of a program to meet them. Hopkins was offered and quickly accepted the post of Director of this division at a salary of $8,000. He remained there for three years. There was a certain amount of friction between him and Bailey B. Burritt, Director of A.I.C.P., because the Health Division was separately financed by the Milbank Fund and Hopkins felt he should be independent of Burritt's authority. He was one who always chafed at ordinary, orderly administrative procedure, which is one of the reasons why he found himself so completely at home in the unconventional Roosevelt scheme of things. Much of his experience at this time gave him valuable preparation for problems which he was to encounter later in Washington, for there was a distinct resemblance between the point of view of the welfare worker and that of the voluntary civil servant. Both were commercially unselfish, animated by public spirit and reconciled to careers uncomplicated by the profit motive. It was therefore not unnatural that both should strive to be paid off in the currency of increased authority and opportunity to extend influence. This ambition led to competitive struggle which inevitably produced endless jurisdictional disputes—and the border warfare between one charity organization and another was much the same as between one government agency and another.

and bridge, at both of which he was fairly good, and some golf, at which he was not. When he took friends or relatives to dinner in New York he generally went to some expensive speakeasy and they were appalled at the insouciance with which he would pay a $20 check and $5 in tips as if he could afford it.

In 1924 he moved from A.I.C.P. to the Executive Directorship of the New York Tuberculosis Association with the agreement and endorsement of Burritt and Kingsbury. The President and moving spirit of the Association was Dr. James Alexander Miller, the distinguished specialist who had long been a national leader in the fight against tuberculosis. A careful, conservative man, Miller had managed to make the Association solvent and solid, with a surplus of some $90,000. Hopkins managed to convert this surplus eventually into a deficit of some $40,000, but at the end of his seven years with the Association, when he entered government service, the Directors adopted a statement including the following expressions of appreciation:

> During the period of his directorship, the Association has grown enormously. Largely due to Mr. Hopkins' efforts, the New York Heart Committee was amalgamated with the Tuberculosis Association and the name of the Association was changed from the New York Tuberculosis Association to the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association. . . .
>
> It was due to Mr. Hopkins' leadership that the Committee on Social Hygiene was organized and its work inaugurated. The work of the Heart Committee was enlarged, strengthened and placed upon a sound, scientific basis.
>
> A closer affiliation was arranged with the Children's Welfare Federation which became a committee of the Association on all children's activities.
>
> Through his efforts, contacts were made with the Department of Health and Hospitals and his influence brought about many minor changes in policy and improvements in methods of work in both of these departments. . . .
>
> The Board of Directors of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association hereby records its deep appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Hopkins and extends to him an expression of its most hearty gratitude for all that he has done for the development of the Association, and heartfelt good wishes for the successful use of the federal relief funds and of the great opportunities for leadership in public relief throughout the United States.

Hopkins had greatly increased the Association's income—principally through the stimulation of the sale of Christmas seals—and he had also greatly increased its expenditures. Dr. Miller and his successor as President, Dr. Linsley R. Williams, were unable to devote much attention to the business affairs of the Association and Hopkins was consequently pretty much on his own, which was what he liked to be. He had visions of an expanding empire—his intense ambition, be it said, being animated not by greed but by incurable restlessness and discontentment. Tuberculosis would have seemed a big enough evil for any one organization to tackle, but Hopkins pushed the Association into new fields until it had absorbed the New York Heart Association, the Children's Welfare Federation, the Associated Out-Patient Clinic and the Allied Dental Clinic. He wrote an article for the *Nation's Health* (January, 1927) indi-

the New York—and even ultimately the National—Health Association. One day, early in 1928, Dr. Haven Emerson, former Health Commissioner of New York, told Hopkins of having watched men drilling in the rocks under 42nd Street and said that it was outrageous that these men were being subjected to the dread occupational disease known as silicosis. Emerson felt that something should be done about it, so Hopkins immediately promised to do something. After Emerson had left him, he went to Dr. Jacob A. Goldberg, Secretary of the Tuberculosis Association, and asked, "Say, Jack—what is silicosis?" Hopkins thereupon organized and financed an exhaustive study of the subject under a committee which included Dr. Emerson, Goldberg and himself. The report of this committee, published in February, 1929, resulted in the development of an elaborate vacuum device to eliminate silica dust and this was used successfully in the work on Rockefeller Center and other excavations and tunneling in New York City since then. That is typical of the way in which Hopkins worked: he was never deterred from attacking a problem by total ignorance of it for

and bridge, at both of which he was fairly good, and some golf, at which he was not. When he took friends or relatives to dinner in New York he generally went to some expensive speakeasy and they were appalled at the insouciance with which he would pay a $20 check and $5 in tips as if he could afford it.

In 1924 he moved from A.I.C.P. to the Executive Directorship of the New York Tuberculosis Association with the agreement and endorsement of Burritt and Kingsbury. The President and moving spirit of the Association was Dr. James Alexander Miller, the distinguished specialist who had long been a national leader in the fight against tuberculosis. A careful, conservative man, Miller had managed to make the Association solvent and solid, with a surplus of some $90,000. Hopkins managed to convert this surplus eventually into a deficit of some $40,000, but at the end of his seven years with the Association, when he entered government service, the Directors adopted a statement including the following expressions of appreciation:

> During the period of his directorship, the Association has grown enormously. Largely due to Mr. Hopkins' efforts, the New York Heart Committee was amalgamated with the Tuberculosis Association and the name of the Association was changed from the New York Tuberculosis Association to the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association. . . .
>
> It was due to Mr. Hopkins' leadership that the Committee on Social Hygiene was organized and its work inaugurated. The work of the Heart Committee was enlarged, strengthened and placed upon a sound, scientific basis.
>
> A closer affiliation was arranged with the Children's Welfare Federation which became a committee of the Association on all children's activities.
>
> Through his efforts, contacts were made with the Department of Health and Hospitals and his influence brought about many minor changes in policy and improvements in methods of work in both of these departments. . . .
>
> The Board of Directors of the New York Tuberculosis and H Association hereby records its deep appreciation of the service dered by Mr. Hopkins and extends to him an expression of its hearty gratitude for all that he has done for the development Association, and heartfelt good wishes for the successful us federal relief funds and of the great opportunities f public relief throughout the United States.

he had an exceptional ability to cure his own ignorance and gain a "piercing understanding."

Dr. Goldberg has described Hopkins at this time: "You could mark him down as an ulcerous type. He was intense, seeming to be in a perpetual nervous ferment—a chain smoker and black coffee drinker. He was always careless in his appearance. Most of the time he would show up in the office looking as though he had spent the previous night sleeping in a hayloft. He would wear the same shirt three or four days at a time. He managed to shave almost every day—usually at the office. While other executives that have run the Association would say, 'We have this amount of money available—and this is how much we can spend,' Hopkins, by contrast, never worried about the cost until later, when the Association had been committed to the program, and then he would scramble around to get the money."

Dr. Miller has said, "Harry never had the faintest conception of the value of money. But then, that is true of most social workers I have known. Although in no sense personally dishonest, they can become unscrupulous in the handling of funds. They can convince themselves that the worthy end justified the means."

When, after the 1929 crash, Herbert Hoover's "chicken in every pot" was replaced by a discharge slip in every other pay envelope, Hopkins' friend, William Mathews of the A.I.C.P., was struggling with the problem of workless, homeless men and managed to obtain $75,000 from the Harvey Gibson Emergency Committee of the American Red Cross. Mathews, who had been one of the pioneers in work relief back in 1914, conferred with Hopkins as to the best way of administering this fund. Together with Dr. Goldberg, they made an arrangement with the Park Commission whereby jobs for unemployed men would be provided on park projects, the cost of the labor to be defrayed from Mathews' fund. Hopkins and Dr. and Mrs. Goldberg went to A.I.C.P. every evening after their day's work at the Tuberculosis Association and remained until late at night assigning jobs to applicants for work relief. There was no planning board for these assignments. No questions were asked—no investigations

were conducted—there being no staff to conduct them. Any man who asked for a job was given one. "Some of the men," Goldberg has recalled, "came in to us carrying violin cases We could see they were not fit for heavy work, so they were assigned to projects like sawing off dead limbs from trees, grading walks, leaf raking, etc" Leaf raking! That term appeared many more times in Hopkins career

Of course, the $75,000 ran out quickly but more funds were raised and the volunteer employment bureau continued its hand-to-mouth operations until the Governor of New York, Franklin D Roosevelt, proclaimed unemployment relief to be a State responsibility Hopkins was harshly criticized for these irregular activities by the established welfare agencies, which claimed it was "unprofessional conduct" to hand out work tickets without thorough investigation into the background of each applicant, his own or his family's financial resources and probably his religious affiliations Harry told the agencies to go to hell," said Goldberg

Hopkins met Roosevelt for the first time during the campaign of 1928, when Alfred E. Smith was running for President and Roosevelt for Governor Hopkins was impressed by this meeting, for he had been thrilled to hear the radio broadcast of Roosevelt's "Happy Warrior" nominating speech for Smith, who was then Hopkins' idol and for whom he campaigned ardently, but for Roosevelt the meeting with the sallow social worker was just another handshake However Hopkins was coming more and more to the attention of various of Roosevelt's friends and of Mrs Roosevelt who was perpetually interested in welfare work

To anyone with a mystical sense—and Hopkins being his mother's son, had one which was strong though well concealed—that election of 1928 eventually gave cause for wonderment. It could have been attributed to all manner of occult forces—to the hand of God or to the grim resolution of fate or to the inexorable turning of the tides of history—or merely to an inexplicable freak of luck But there was something strange and tremendous in the fact that, although Al Smith was badly beaten throughout the nation and lost his own New York

hundred thousand votes, Roosevelt carried the State by the exceedingly narrow margin of twenty-five thousand. There were thus a relative handful of people in New York who failed to vote the straight Republican ticket and thereby enabled Franklin Roosevelt to become a logical candidate for the Presidency in 1932 and to run again in 1936, 1940 and 1944 and to receive more than a hundred million votes from the American people in times of terrible crisis.

Roosevelt's narrow victory in 1928 was due partly to public recognition of his cheerful gallantry in fighting a fearful disease and partly to the fact that the people of New York approved of Al Smith's policies as Governor even though they did not wish to promote the author of them to the White House. There was no reason whatsoever to interpret the results as any indication that the formidable power of the Republican party was threatened. The Republicans had ruled the country for nearly seventy years except for two interludes produced by schisms within their own ranks and it seemed as Herbert Hoover assumed the Presidency that nothing less than economic calamity or another World War could upset the political balance of power within the foreseeable future. The American people could see not the slightest sign of either misfortune coming to pass, but less than a year had passed after Hoover's triumphant election before the boom burst, starting the creation of the enormous vacuum which was to be filled by the New Deal. On August 28, 1931, Governor Roosevelt made a speech to an extraordinary session of the State Legislature which sounded the very keynote of his social philosophy:

> What is the State? It is the duly constituted representative of an organized society of human beings, created by them for their mutual protection and well-being. "The State" or "The Government" is but the machinery through which such mutual aid and protection are achieved. The cave man fought for existence unaided or even opposed by his fellow man, but today the humblest citizen of our State stands protected by all the power and strength of his Government. Our Government is not the master but the creature of the people. The duty of the State toward the citizens is the duty of the servant to its master. The people have created it; the people, by common consent, permit its continual existence.

> One of these duties of the State is that of caring for those of its citizens who find themselves the victims of such adverse circumstance as makes them unable to obtain even the necessities for mere existence without the aid of others. That responsibility is recognized by every civilized Nation.
>
> To these unfortunate citizens aid must be extended by Government, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of social duty.

I do not know what was the immediate effect of these words on Hopkins. He may have been inclined to dismiss them as mere pious rhetoric from a politician. But, syllable for syllable, they were to form the directive which guided him throughout the next seven years of extraordinary adventure.

As a first means of implementing these words, Roosevelt set up the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration in New York State. The headline writers referred to this as T.E.R.A. and thereby designated the first of the many "alphabetical agencies." Furthermore, in forming this new agency, Roosevelt was setting a precedent for himself which he was to follow again and again in the New Deal and in the organization of the national effort to meet the demands of the Second World War: he was devising a new agency to meet a new problem rather than relying on the established department or bureau (in this case, the State Department of Public Welfare).

As Chairman of the T.E.R.A., Roosevelt named his old friend, Jesse Isidor Straus, president of the great department store, R. H. Macy & Co., and a distinguished philanthropist. Straus did not want the job but yielded to Roosevelt's incomparable blandishments; the Governor of New York was already a master in the art of giving a radical development a conservative mantle, not for the purpose of fooling the public but rather to persuade himself that it was a perfectly reasonable and moderate evolution. Straus, being a good businessman, wanted *first* to find a shrewd, competent executive to be his deputy. He sought the counsel of various leaders in welfare work, such as Henry Bruere, John Kingsbury and Homer Folks. They all agreed that William Hodson, of the Russell Sage Foundation, was the best possible selection and Straus offered him the job. Hodson consulted friends and colleagues and they advised him to refuse the in-

vitation; many of them believed that Roosevelt's radical experiment in forming this new agency was doomed to failure and that Hodson would inevitably take the blame for it. Hodson thereupon suggested Harry Hopkins for the job and telephoned him to ask if he would take it. Hopkins instantly replied, "I would love it." So he started to work on the largest and most daring program for the relief of unemployment that had ever been undertaken by any State in the Union. After a year, Straus resigned and recommended that his efficient and energetic deputy be appointed Chairman, to which the Governor readily agreed. During his two years' service with T.E.R.A., Hopkins did his work in the manner that Roosevelt liked best: imaginatively, speedily, and giving the least possible amount of trouble to Roosevelt himself. Of course, in the latter part of 1931 and in 1932, Roosevelt was looking beyond New York State toward his own candidacy for the Democratic nomination and he and his principal political advisors, Louis MacHenry Howe, James A. Farley and Frank Walker, would have been concerned with Hopkins only if he had been a conspicuous failure and, therefore, an embarrassment.

In those uncertain days, when the return of prosperity was always "just around the corner," it was difficult for anyone to accept the fact that the emergency would eventually be measured in terms of years rather than months; so when Hopkins undertook the T.E.R.A. he continued his position with the Tuberculosis and Health Association, but as he worked he became less sure that the new job was merely "temporary." On September 8, 1932, he wrote to his brother, Lewis:

> For the past eight or ten months I have been trying to carry two jobs. The Governor asked me to be Chairman of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration of New York State, which has already administered a fund of about $30,000,000, and if a bond issue of another $30,000,000 passes on election day, we will have that to administer too. We have now taken care of about a million people in the State. The situation here is very bad, and in spite of the "pollyannish" announcements that are coming out from Washington, and the rise in the stock market, there is a steady decline in employment and an increase in the number of those in need of relief.
>
> I have no confidence whatever that the R.F.C. [the Reconstruction

> Finance Corporation, established by President Herbert Hoover] will help the situation much this winter, other than bolster up the railroads and the banks I very naturally am earnestly hoping that Roosevelt will be elected. I think he would make a far better president than Hoover—chiefly because he is not afraid of a new idea, and furthermore, is not identified with big business after the fashion of "the great engineer." I am convinced that Roosevelt is not only fearless, but a very able executive All this business about his health is utter nonsense I have seen a great deal of him within the past few months, and the amount of work that he can carry out is perfectly amazing To be sure, I don't believe that the election of either of them is going to increase our respective salaries a bit.

That last statement proved to be a very good guess by Hopkins in so far as he himself was concerned. Although his man, Roosevelt, was elected, and Hopkins was thus catapulted into a position of world importance, he worked for the next twelve years at a salary lower than that of 1932 and he was broke when he died, but he was empowered to spend in those years of government service nine billion dollars for the relief of others and to direct the expenditure of many billions more in Lend Lease. This reference in this letter to Roosevelt's health was due to the whispering campaign which had started even in 1928 to the effect that Roosevelt's disease was not infantile paralysis but syphilis.

A month after Roosevelt's election to the Presidency, and with repeal of prohibition apparently assured, Hopkins wrote again to his brother

> It seems to me that the principal idea of the public administrators for the past several years has been to protect big business and I have a great deal more confidence in the hoi polloi that are going into office on the fourth of March than I ever had in Andy Mellon and his crowd of highbinders For my part I would abolish the whole federal [prohibition] enforcement crowd as well as the local crowd, at once, and not spend another dime on enforcing a law that could not be enforced for ten times that amount of money The "noble experiment" is on the way out
>
> I agree with you entirely on the fact that we are not going to get nearly as much from taxes as some of the people think For my part I do not believe in a high tax on liquor, especially on beer, and as you indicate, if they try to tax it too much the bootleggers and those of us who have learned how to make homemade gin will keep right at it

> I look to see some pretty drastic changes made in Washington after the fourth of March. Certainly the unemployment situation is no better, and I can see no earthly reason for an upturn of business. It is going to be quite impossible, in my judgment, to get these ten or twelve million men back to work unless we have a universal five-day week; and I am not too sure about it even then. I have no sympathy with the "share the work" movement that the big boys are advocating. Nor do I approve of the sales tax or other methods of taxation which have a horizontal base because that means that the people pay the taxes who can least afford it. I would shove the income taxes, inheritance, gift taxes, etc., higher than they now are. Certainly that should be done before we begin to tax every working man for each pair of shoes that he buys. . . .

When Hopkins wrote that, he was bursting with ambition to expand on a national scale. He could not bear to go back to the Tuberculosis and Health Association where he had already achieved about as much advancement as he could hope for. His experience with T.E.R.A. in New York State had given him a taste of and for public life and the service of millions of people and the expenditure of millions of dollars. I believe that when Jesse Straus was appointed Ambassador to France he asked Hopkins to go along with him as an aide, but Hopkins could not see himself in the role of a "cookie pusher" (a term that both he and Roosevelt later loved to use to describe routine diplomats). Hopkins wanted to get into the Roosevelt Administration. Particularly in the weeks following the Inauguration, when the New Deal was bursting out in a series of bewildering pyrotechnical explosions, he felt that he must be part of this historic show. When he finally got the call, more than two months after Roosevelt took office, he answered it with alacrity and with no qualms.

When Hopkins went to Washington he had broken sharply with his previous life. He had been divorced by his first wife and had married again. He was at odds with his old friends, even John Kingsbury, and was virtually estranged from his sister, Adah Aime, to whom he had been particularly close in childhood and who was the only member of his family living in the East. There can be little doubt that Hopkins was ashamed of himself and therefore on the defensive, for the home that he

broke up involved not only his wife but their three small sons with no means of support other than his own uncertain earnings. I have had no intention of going into the intricacies of Hopkins' private, emotional life; for one thing, they appear far too complicated for me to cope with, and for another thing he had shaken them out of his system by the time he was called upon to take his place in the Second World War. But the developments of these final years before he entered public service cannot be glossed over without a word. As his old Professor, Dr. Edward A. Steiner, said in a letter to me, they were "not to his credit."

About 1927—I do not know the exact date—he fell in love with Barbara Duncan, an attractive, well-educated, well-bred girl who had come from her native Michigan to New York for training as a nurse at Bellevue Hospital. She developed tubercular symptoms and was given employment as a secretary at the Tuberculosis Association. Under the unhappy circumstances, it could hardly be called a glamorously romantic attachment which Hopkins had formed and both he and Miss Duncan attempted to resist it. He went to a psychoanalyst, Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, and started to read voluminously in the works of Freud, Jung and Adler. Both his sister, Mrs. Aime, and John Kingsbury have told me that, if he had been secretive about himself in his youth, he was the exact opposite now: he talked endlessly and boringly to his close friends about his personal troubles, trying to rationalize his behavior through exercises in self-psychoanalysis. In the summer of 1928 under the benevolent influence of Dr. Williams, Hopkins was firmly resolved that his home must not be destroyed and he and Miss Duncan agreed that their romance must develop no further. Kingsbury [illegible] conditions and [illegible] the delegation [illegible] seemed a good opportunity for Hopkins to get away from all domestic problems and pull himself together and he accordingly went on his first trip to France and England. I am indebted to Mrs. Ethel Gross Hopkins for providing me with excerpts from letters that he wrote to her during that summer when he was struggling

miserably to renew the bonds of their married life. He wrote from the Royal Palace Hotel in Kensington:

> I have just had the most exalting experience. Having had a real English dinner with a delightful physician in his very English home, he took me for a tramp over Hampstead Heath—a great park on the outskirts of London. We were discussing the Mental Deficiency Act of England or some equally uplifting subect when we suddenly came on a lovely path upon which was a very impersonal sign which read "Keats Walk."
>
> Upon enquiry it developed that here Keats walked with Fanny Brawne and over this very Hampstead Heath—Keats had roamed fo hours and it is just the same now as then. Imagine my feeling! Th doctor not knowing Keats could not share my enthusiasm but tha didn't restrain mine for at last I was in Keats' country and every mem ory of the years I have known him (—how long has it been—I thin it dates from the time I was ill in New Hospital about eight year ago—) swelled to my imagination and I saw his red head and prou step sauntering thru the green. It was as tho I could reach out an touch him—quite like a dream. But it was not—for not two block away was his home where he lived for three years and where the *Od to the Nightingale* was written and other heavenly music. I saw hi very house—and his garden that he sat in for hours on end. It is no state property and of course was closed but it is open during the da and I am going back soon. . . .
>
> I know you will be glad to hear of this and are the only one that wil fully understand what this incident is to me. That it was quite acci dental made it all the more delightful. I fairly walk on air and wante you to know. . . .

Following are more comments that he wrote at that time fron London which he was to visit again in the terror of the Blitz:

> Today I spent in the heart of London's East End—the poorest doc workers—miserable poverty—dirty rotten slums but magni school health work under the direction of skilled and devoted d and nurses. It was thrilling. We are amateurs indeed! I am sp the week looking at the school work, the administration of w complicated and extensive.
>
> Next week the T.B. health service and then the district heal ice—it would take six months instead of weeks to do this ad I am being royally received and the whole works is open.
>
> I had dinner with Harry Day last night at his very spor heavenly swim first. We sat on the veranda talking ove

can were married. One daughter, Diana, was born in 1932 of this marriage, which was a brief but very happy one. The second Mrs. Hopkins died of cancer in 1937.

CHAPTER III

The Relief Program

ADOLF HITLER became Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933, and some Americans who had read *Mein Kampf* and had taken seriously its implications were frightened as they tried to peer into the heavily clouded future. It was not that there was any immediate prospect of war, for Germany still seemed to be prostrate militarily and faith in the precautionary measures of the Treaty of Versailles still persisted. Far more immediate as a threat was the deeply disquieting suspicion that *it could happen here*. The dragon's teeth of Fascism and Communism were being sown throughout the world and in that winter of closing banks, of "scrip" currency and interminable breadlines, it was all too possible to fear that these destructive seeds might take root in American soil. The people as a whole knew very little of the true character of the new man who was coming into the White House on March 4. What if he should prove to be another Man on Horseback? Under the existing circumstances, it might not have been difficult for him to seize dictatorial power.

The American people were literally starved for leadership. Herbert Hoover, who had appeared to possess exceptional qualifications for the Presidency, had failed lamentably under the stress of major emergency. Although he had been honored as "a Great Humanitarian," his performance as President of a depressed nation was that of one who was pathetically inept in the exercise of common, human understanding. He first coldly assured the people that the depression was an illusion which

lapse occurred in Europe, he angrily denounced the depression as something un-American from which we should isolate and insulate ourselves, and, finally, he truculently scolded the people for blaming the depression on his own Republican party which had taken full credit for the preceding boom. (As a noble Republican, Dwight Morrow, said at the time, "Those who took credit for the rainfall should not complain when they are blamed for the drought.) The unfortunate fact was that Herbert Hoover was, in a word—and the word was applied by that sage Hoosier, George Ade—"clammy." Under his hapless Administration the prestige of the Presidency had dropped to an alarmingly low level and so had popular faith in our whole constitutional system and particularly in what Hoover himself stoutly maintained to be "the American way of life." The temper of the people was fearful and bitterly resentful and ominous.

There is a persistent theory held by those who prate most steadily about "the American way of life" that the average American is a rugged individualist to whom the whole conception of "leadership" is something foreign and distasteful—and this theory would certainly seem to be in accord with our national tradition of lawlessness and disrespect for authority. But it is not entirely consistent with the facts. We Americans are inveterate hero worshipers, to a far greater extent than are the British or the French. We like to personalize our loyalties, our causes. In our political or business or labor organizations, we are comforted by the knowledge that at the top is a Big Boss whom we are free to revere or to hate and upon whom we can depend for quick decisions when the going gets tough. The same is true of our Boy Scout troops and our criminal gangs. It is most conspicuously true of our passion for competitive sport. We are trained from childhood to look to the coach for authority in emergencies. The masterminding coach who can send in substitutes with instructions whenever he feels like it—or even send in an entirely new team—is a purely American phenomenon. In British football the team must play through the game with the same eleven men with which it started and with no orders from the sidelines; if a man is injured and forced to leave the field the team goes on playing with only

ten men. In British sport, there are no Knute Rocknes or Connie Macks, whereas in American sport the mastermind is considered as an essential in the relentless pursuit of superiority.

In times of peace and prosperity, it is true, when the American people feel they are doing all right for themselves, they do not give much thought to the character of the man in the White House; they are satisfied to have a President who merely "fits into the picture frame," as Warren G. Harding did, and who will eventually look sufficiently austere on the less frequently used postage stamps. But when adversity sets in and problems become too big for individual solution then the average citizen becomes conscious of the old "team spirit" and he starts looking anxiously toward the sidelines for instructions from the coach. That is when the President of the United States must step out of the picture frame and assert himself as a vital, human need. American faith in the recurrence of that miracle is unlimited. There is deep rooted in our consciousness the conviction that a great President will appear "whenever we really need him," and in the years 1929-33 the question was being asked, constantly and apprehensively, "Where is he *now?*"

No cosmic dramatist could possibly devise a better entrance for a new President—or a new Dictator, or a new Messiah—than that accorded to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The eternally ironic fact is that the stage was so gloriously set for him not by his own friends and supporters, who were then relatively obscure people, but by those who were to become his bitterest enemies. Herbert Hoover was, in the parlance of vaudeville, "a good act to follow." Roosevelt rode in on a wheel chair instead of a white horse, but the roll of drums and the thunderclaps which attended him were positively Wagnerian as emotional stimuli and also as ugly warnings of what might happen to American democracy if the new President should turn out to possess any of the qualities of a Hitler or even of a Huey Long. The people did not have to wait long for him to reveal himself, clearly and irrevocably. As the occasion of his entrance was tremendous, so was the manner of his rising to it. Harry Hopkins, who was to participate in the preparation of so many of the President's later speeches, wrote after Roosevelt's death

"For myself I think his first inaugural address was the best speech he ever made." It was certainly most thoroughly representative of the character of the man himself. In something under two thousand words he made it abundantly clear that there was going to be action on a wide variety of fronts—"and action now" The most famous phrase, and deservedly so, was "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself"—and one thinks of these words over and over again when considering Roosevelt's career and the wellsprings of his philosophy But there were other memorable words which gained weight as they gained implementation

> The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths
>
> There will be an end to speculation with other people's money. . . .
>
> I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. . . .
>
> *Our greatest primary task is to put people to work.*
>
> In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory
>
> We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed
>
> In the event that the national emergency is still critical I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis —broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe
>
> In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor
>
> Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form

The last quotation in particular became recognized—and with acute pain in the more conservative and, later, isolationist circles—as expressive of the very core of Roosevelt's political doctrine No President since Lincoln had tested the elasticity of the Constitution as he did—but I do not think that Roosevelt equaled Lincoln's record in circumventing the Cons[illegible]n nor did he ever declare, as did William H. Seward, "T[illegible] higher law than the Constitution which regulates our a[illegible]

Roosevelt never saw the need for a higher temporal law; he considered the Constitution broad enough to cover all foreseeable eventualities.

The records of Roosevelt's early career indicate an inclinatior toward Jeffersonian principles of democratic decentralizatior of power as opposed to the Hamiltonian concept of concentration of power in the Federal Government—and especially tc John Jay's dictum that, "This country should be governed by the people who own it." Roosevelt's experience in elective offic had all been on the State level. As President, he sometime irritated his progressive advisers by his tendency to resolve ever problem in terms of the exceptional circumstances of Hyd Park Township in the venerable Hudson River Valley, and ye he had been profoundly influenced by the belligerent pro gressivism of his cousin, Theodore Roosevelt. While F.D.R. wa serving his first term in the New York State Senate, in 191(T.R. gave a speech at Osawatomie, Kansas—the battlegroun of John Brown. In the crowd that day were many Civil War ve erans and T.R. addressed himself primarily to them, emphasi: ing their struggle to establish human rights above propert rights and to do so within the framework of a united natioi Because that Osawatomie speech was of such great importanc in shaping the structure of the New Deal, I venture to quo from it at some length:

> I stand for the square deal. But when I say I am for the square dea I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules (the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as t work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and of reward f equally good service. . . .
>
> The true conservative is the one who insists that property shall l the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists th the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the mast of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effe tively control the mighty commercial forces which they have ther selves called into being. . . .
>
> The absence of effective State, and especially national, restraint upc unfair money getting has tended to create a small class of enormous wealthy and economically powerful men whose chief object is to ho and increase their power. The prime need is to change the conditio which enable these men to accumulate power which it is not for tl

from all over the country. . . . Confidence and courage are the essentials of success in carrying out our plan . . . Together we cannot fail." Here was the first real demonstration of Roosevelt's superb ability to use the first person plural and bring the people right into the White House with him. The very fact of a "chat" was in itself surprising and immeasurably stimulating: traditionally, when a President spoke to the people, it was an "Address," which might be intended as an exhortation, or an elaborate apologia, or a stern lecture. But Roosevelt spoke simply, casually, as a friend or relative, who had figured out a way to prevent foreclosure of the mortgage, and those of us who heard that speech will never forget the surge of confidence that his buoyant spirit evoked. It was all the more thrilling after the hair-shirted carping and petulance that we had been hearing from Hoover. During the three days following this Fireside Chat, 4,507 national banks and 567 state member banks reopened and Roosevelt sent a Message to the Congress asking for modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of beer, thus writing the beginning of the end of fourteen years of prohibition and attendant crime. This long overdue reform was tossed in as a sort of bonus and it was hailed joyfully by the people as proof that the new Administration was not only progressive and dynamic but also essentially cheerful. Happy days were here again! More than eleven years later when Roosevelt was running for President for the fourth time he evoked roars of agreement from a crowd in Fenway Park in Boston when he said:

> If there ever was a time in which the spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression of 1929 to 1933.
>
> Then our people might have turned to alien ideologies—like communism or fascism.
>
> But—our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy—but more democracy—and that is what they got.

The difference of opinion (to use the mildest of expressions) that existed between Roosevelt and his domestic foes was based on the definition of that word "democracy." Indeed, they cam

The task he faced was stupendous. Little was known at Washington about the efficiency of the various State and local relief organizations throughout the country. There were no such organizations in some of the States and in many of the counties. There were no immediately available reliable statistics either about relief needs or relief expenditures.

Action had to be immediate. It was immediate. The day after he [Hopkins] took office he telegraphed his first communication to the Governors of the respective States; and before nightfall he had made grants of money to Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Mississippi, Ohio and Texas.

From the very beginning two important points of policy were evident: (1) The operations of the program, aside from certain basic standards and stipulations, were to be decentralized and local in character, and (2) work, rather than idleness on a dole, was preferred.

The original grant of money, in accordance with the statute, was on the basis of $1.00 of Federal funds for every $3.00 of local, State and Federal funds spent during the preceding quarter year. The statute also provided [illegible] art of the fund could be used in states without such matching [illegible] amount available by matching would be

can people and of Franklin D. Roosevelt, which to him meant one and the same thing In appointing men and women to positions of authority he was concerned only with consideration of their competence and zeal, he did not give a damn whether they were Methodists, Baptists, Catholics or Jews—and he was specifically instructed by the President never to "ask whether a person needing relief is a Republican, Democrat, Socialist or anything else" Hopkins said, "I don't like it when people finagle around the back door" He thus soon found himself involved in controversy with James A Farley and with various members of Congress and State Governors whose duty it was to look out for the interests of "deserving Democrats." Confident of Roosevelt's support, Hopkins continued for a long time on the principle that relief was entirely nonpartisan For that was a period of soaring altruism. In the first, triumphant sweep of the New Deal, it was possible to afford the luxury of being nonpolitical—but Hopkins learned better (or perhaps one should say "worse") later on when the opposition began to recover its dissipated strength and elections became less easy to win.

There had been a pretense of a relief program before F E R A Confronted [illegible]

many impossible dilemmas that beset him the "dole" system was naturally repugnant to him, but the only logical alternative appeared to be a form of government subsidy of public works projects which smacked of State Socialism Since the dole was traditional, and had been since the institution of the "Old Poor Law" in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Hoover favored that, however much he hated it, simply because it was traditional Thus, American citizens who had so recently been given the assurance of two cars in every garage and a chicken in every pot were now given basically the same kind of treatment that was accorded to paupers in sixteenth-century England Hoover tried to meet this problem, as he tried to meet so many others, by appointing commissions to "study" it (His principal committee was headed by Walter S. Gifford, of the American

Telephone and Telegraph Company.) But this was an emergency which demanded action first and study later. Finally, in the summer of 1932, with an election imminent, Hoover supported legislation which provided for loans, at three per cent interest, of $200 millions from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the various States for relief—the Federal Government to assume responsibility for the bookkeeping but not for the actual application of these funds. This was known as the Emergency Relief and Construction Act and it provided a nuclear regional organization which Hopkins took over when he started work; but it provided him with no funds, for the money had run out when he started to minister to the needs of some seventeen million people who were subsisting on the relief rolls. Under the new dispensation of F.E.R.A., the funds appropriated—$500 millions—were in the form of outright grants rather than loans to the States; but, otherwise, there was no essential departure from the principle of the dole. The main burden of cost and of administration was still on the local authorities to whom the needy must go, cap in hand, to accept charity. This is precisely where Hopkins came in and produced a profound change in the whole conception of governmental responsibility and function.

Hopkins inherited from the previous relief organization several key men who were predominantly social workers, like himself, trained to think that local problems should be handled with funds locally raised and administered by local and, to the greatest possible extent, *private* charitable organizations. In other words, the fact of Federal relief must be disguised in all possible ways. This was in deference to the creed that private enterprise must always provide the cure for any and every ill and that anyone who said that it might be unable to do so was a declared enemy of the American way of life. But Roosevelt as Governor had proclaimed the principle of State responsibility to "the humblest citizen" and Hopkins took those words literally. This was the great tenet of the New Deal, which became the number one item in Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights of eleven years later: the right to work.

One of the first men that Hopkins brought into F.E.R.A. to

advise him was Frank Bane, whom he had met in the First World War when he was working for the Red Cross in the South. In 1931 Bane had organized the American Public Welfare Association and had consulted with Roosevelt and Hopkins on relief problems in New York State and with the Gifford Committee on the problems in the nation as a whole. The Gifford Committee was interested in developing the activities of private charitable agencies, whereas Bane insisted that all levels of government—Federal, State and community—should be directly and openly responsible for the administration of public relief. The Bane slogan was, "Public funds expended by public agencies," which did not find favor under the Hoover Administration but was right in line with Hopkins' thinking.

Bane agreed to work for Hopkins without pay on a temporary basis. He named, as his permanent successor, another social worker, Aubrey Williams, of Alabama, whom Hopkins did not then know but who was to become one of his ablest, most loyal and most smeared aides in the whole New Deal achievement. Williams had been a field representative of the American Public Welfare Association, of which Bane was Director. The long-scorned social workers were coming into their own as figures of national importance.

On June 17—three and a half weeks after he had entered government service—Hopkins went to Detroit to speak at the National Conference of Social Work. Bane and Williams were already there when he arrived. They begged him to take a stand in favor of direct Federal relief—as opposed to relief administered through private agencies. He was in grave doubt as to the practicability of this, but it was the way his natural inclinations tended, and he followed his natural inclinations. He spoke out in favor of relief as an obligation of the Federal Government to the citizens—without any pretense of private agencies interposed—thereby putting into effect the Roosevelt doctrine that this relief was a sacred right rather than an act of charity, an obligation of government to its citizens rather than a mere emergency alleviation of suffering in the form of alms. Hopkins' Detroit speech was given scant [illegible] the press and such attention as it received overlool[illegible]

main import. I do not know if Roosevelt himself or any of his then advisers knew at the time just what it was that Hopkins had said; but the principle had been stated, and it was followed religiously in the administration of F.E.R.A., and Roosevelt supported it and came to admire Hopkins and to give him more and more opportunities to exert his influence in the official family.

There were two other important principles that Hopkins advocated successfully in the beginnings of F.E.R.A. One was the payment of cash instead of grocery slips to those on relief rolls. The other, considered revolutionary and wildly impractical by the more conservative social workers, was the extension of relief to the provision not only of food but of clothing, shelter and medical care to the needy. These principles have continued and have affected the whole concept of social work, particularly in the field of public health.

It may be interposed at this point that I have often wondered about the accuracy of the famous statement, attributed to Thomas Corcoran, that "we planned it that way." Roosevelt had contemplated, in broad outline, the Tennessee Valley power project, the Agricultural Adjustment, Conservation and Public Works programs, the Securities and Exchanges Control and something like the National Industrial Recovery Act, more than a year before he became President, and they were all quickly put into effect. But the vast Relief Program, as Hopkins administered it, certainly did not work out according to any plan. It was a series of remarkable improvisations impelled by the character of the myriad problems that were discovered from day to day. By enforced research and a great deal of shrewd guesswork Hopkins found out what was really going on in the country as a whole and brought the facts home to Roosevelt. He personalized the problems for the President, and also most importantly for Mrs. Roosevelt who made the concerns of helpless individuals her own. Any appraisal of the Roosevelt Administration must begin with the fact that the government in Washington in the years following 1933 achieved an incomparable knowledge of the aspirations and the fears and the needs of the American people and that knowledge became of

supreme importance when those same people had to be called upon for unprecedented efforts in the waging of the Second World War. The research needed to get the program started was multiplied by the various, extensive research projects carried out subsequently under the program itself.

Although Hopkins will never be celebrated as a "sound money" man or a champion of the sanctity of the taxpayer's dollar, he was exceptionally economy minded in one respect: he liked to run his own organization on the smallest possible budget. Unlike most bureaucrats, he hated to have a lot of civil servants around What he wanted and what he obtained was a [illegible]

of some seventeen million people and had spent a billion and a half dollars, but the organization itself consisted of only 121 people with a total payroll of only $22,000 a month. To anyone in any way familiar with the normal workings of government the lowness of those figures is well nigh incredible But Hopkins managed to obtain people to whom a sixty-hour work week would be a holiday Hopkins' own salary was under $8,000 as opposed to $15,000 he had earned before entering the govern ment. He and his wife and baby lived for a considerable time on $250 a month, the remainder of his salary going for the support of the three sons by his first marriage He told a re porter, "I'd like to be able to forget this $500,000,000 business long enough to make some money for clothes and food Mrs Hopkins is yelling for a winter coat I don't blame her" Hop kins was by no means frugal in his personal tastes. He would like to have had a great deal of money and if he had he would have spent it lavishly, but he never did have it to the end of his days Now and then he would supplement his income by writing a magazine article and would feel very flush for a while In 1944, in his last year in government service, his salary was raised to $15,000, so he ended up just where he had been be fore he started.

In his perpetual haste, Hopkins was [illegible] of bu reaucratic procedure. When inspectors from the [illegible]

Budget came around asking to see the "organizational chart" they were told there wasn't any, as Hopkins would not permit one to be made. He said, "I don't want anybody around here to waste any time drawing boxes. You'll always find that the person who drew the chart has his own name in the middle box." He was also contemptuous of the formality—or "dignity"—with which a high government official feels it necessary to surround himself: the wainscoted office with thick carpets and two flags on standards behind the huge mahogany desk. Hopkins owned no morning coat and striped pants, but he rented this diplomatic uniform for the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to Washington in later years when he was a member of the Cabinet.

There was a kind of fanaticism in Hopkins' drive toward the objectives that he had to a large extent established for himself. This fanaticism was communicated to his co-workers who felt that they were fighting a holy war against want. But—lest this analogy be misinterpreted—it is necessary to add that no fighter in this war who served under Hopkins was compelled to wear the sackcloth uniform of asceticism. Despite the rigid Methodism of Hopkins' early training, many of his most important staff conferences during the New Deal years were held in automobiles en route to or returning from the Maryland racetracks around Washington. The organization which became W.P.A. was first outlined by Hopkins in a suite in the aristocratic Hotel St. Regis in New York. As Joseph E. Davies has said of Hopkins, "He had the purity of St. Francis of Assisi combined with the sharp shrewdness of a race track tout."

Hopkins, in his first few months in office, sloughed off some of the tradition-bound social workers whom he had inherited from the previous, halfhearted regime and brought in men and women who agreed with his own unrestricted conception of governmental responsibilities. This did not mean that his staff was composed of yes men and yes women; they were on the contrary tireless and inveterate needlers, as he was, who would not hesitate to prod and goad anyone, including their own boss, who seemed at any instant to show signs of slacking on the job. Hopkins always thrived in an atmosphere of protest.

Years later, when I came to know Hopkins, I was given a demonstration of the exasperating way in which he stimulated those who worked with him It was the summer of 1940 and I was engaged in frenzied work for the William Allen White Committee to promote aid to Britain. I encountered Hopkins on a Sunday on Long Island when he was staying at Mrs. Harvey Cushing's house and he drew me aside to ask, "What are you warmongers up to now?" I assumed he was using that noun facetiously, and I told him that we were working on a campaign to transfer fifty American over-age destroyers to the British Navy.

Hopkins assumed a look of disgust. "You mean you're going to come right out publicly and ask the President to give fifty of our fighting ships to a belligerent?"

I said these destroyers were of no immediate use to us, they were lying idle and had been for years

"But," he asked, "don't you realize that a public demand like that would be a big embarrassment to the President—especially [illegible]"

[illegible] Wen- [illegible] in line with Roosevelt's whole policy

Hopkins snapped at me, "What do *you* know about the President's policy? Don't you know that this country is neutral?"

I was getting angrier by the minute and also depressed at the thought that this man, so close to Roosevelt, was revealing himself as a narrow-minded isolationist I expressed this thought.

"The whole country's isolationist," said Hopkins, "except for a few pro-British fanatics like you How do you imagine that the President could possibly justify himself with the people if he gave up fifty of our destroyers?"

I answered this with a tirade of much more vehemence and eloquence than I can usually summon. I said that the people were a lot less neutral than Hopkins seemed to think—that they hated Nazism—that if Roosevelt would speak to them with his own great courage and clarity they would support [illegible]

etc. When I had concluded my impassioned oration, Hopkins grinned and said, "All right then—why do you waste your breath shouting all this at *me?* Why don't you get out and say these things to the people?" He had just wanted to find out if I had any real arguments to support my emotional bias.

The direct result of this interview was that Hopkins brought me into the White House to work with Sam Rosenman and himself in helping President Roosevelt to prepare his next speech.

Hopkins pulled that same goading tactic on a great many people to find out just how sound their arguments were and how sincere was their advocacy of them; but one could never be entirely sure if it were a trick for sometimes this was his method of telling an overzealous proponent to pipe down.

In October, 1933, Hopkins knew that with winter coming on the unemployment problem was bound to become more desperate and he believed that the only decent solution was a huge work program. Aubrey Williams and other aides were urging him to propose such a program to the President but Hopkins felt sure that it would be turned down. He knew that Roosevelt would be under fire on this not only from the conservatives: organized labor was strongly opposed to a program of governmentally "made" jobs. This was one of the times when Hopkins was impatient and irascible with those who were prodding him to do the very thing that he himself most wanted to do.

On Saturday, October 28, Hopkins arrived in Chicago to have lunch with Robert Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago, and to attend a football game. He was met at the station by Frank Bane and Louis Brownlow, Director of the Public Administration Clearing House, who had been talking to Williams about the work program and who now joined in hammering at Hopkins to bring it to the President. Both men, experts in public administration, were able to give Hopkins an abundance of facts and figures and he was able to absorb them; but he still did not know how to sell the idea to Roosevelt who was concerned about the attitude of organized labor. He went from Chicago to Kansas City to make a speech; among

the people with whom he conferred on relief problems while there was the Federal Unemployment Director for Missouri, Judge Harry S Truman Williams reached Hopkins in Kansas City by telephone to announce that he had just seen Dr. John R. Commons in Madison, Wisconsin. Dr. Commons was one of the country's greatest authorities on all matters pertaining to labor and, when he heard what was on Williams' mind, he dug into his voluminous files and came up with a clipping dating from 1898 of a statement by Samuel Gompers in which the father of American organized labor advocated precisely the form of work program then suggested Gompers called it "The Day Labor Plan" That was just what Hopkins had hoped for It was his convenient conviction that a precedent can almost always be found for a new idea, however revolutionary it may seem, if you really search for it. the precedent for Lend Lease was found in an unimportant law passed by Congress in 1892, during the Benjamin Harrison Administration. Thus, when Hopkins learned what Gompers had said, he knew he had the persuasive argument that Roosevelt needed to overcome the labor leaders' objections to the work relief program He telephoned to the White House and was given an appointment for lunch on the day of his return to Washington.

During that lunch, Roosevelt asked how many jobs would have to be provided and Hopkins said about four million.

"Let's see," said Roosevelt, "Four million people—that means roughly four hundred million dollars' He thought this could be provided from the Public Works fund which was under the guardianship of Harold Ickes, who was neither then nor subsequently extravagant in his admiration for Harry Hopkins or for his methods When Hopkins left the White House after this lunch he "fairly walked-on air, as he had when he saw the house in which Keats wrote 'Ode to a Nightingale" He put through a telephone call to Williams, who was by then in New Orleans making a speech for the Community Chest Fund, and insisted that Williams interrupt the speech and get to the telephone to hear the news that the work program was going to start with $400 millions Williams, Brownlow and Bane were summoned immediately to Washington where they a[illegible] d

Saturday night, one week after the football game in Chicago, together with Hopkins, Howard Hunter, Jacob Baker, Julius F. Stone, Clarence M. Bookman, Ellen Woodward, Robert S. McClure, Corrington Gill, Pierce Williams and T. S. Edmonds. They worked most of Saturday night and Sunday in the Hotel Powhatan (later named the Roger Smith) and drew the plans for the Civil Works Administration which put the four million people to work in the first thirty days of its existence and, in less than four months, inaugurated 180,000 work projects and spent over $933 millions. It was the parent of W.P.A. and marked the real establishment of the principle of the right to work from which there could be no retreat.

Of the formation of C.W.A. Roosevelt wrote:

> The Public Works Administration (P.W.A.) had not been able by that time to commence a very extensive program of large public works because of the unavoidable time consuming process of planning, designing and reviewing projects, clearing up legal matters, advertising for bids and letting contracts.

This was Roosevelt's tactful means of explaining why he took nearly a billion dollars away from Ickes and entrusted the spending of it to Hopkins at that time (he eventually did the same with many times that sum). Ickes was a very careful, deliberate administrator, who took pains to examine personally every detail of every project and the disposition of every nickel that it cost, whether it be a village post office or a Triborough Bridge. This is hardly to his discredit for it was the approach to each problem of a hardheaded businessman as well as a conscientious public servant. Ickes was concerned about the return on the taxpayers' investment. Hopkins did not give a damn about the return; his approach was that of a social worker who was interested only in getting relief to the miserable and getting it there quickly. His ultimate argument was, "Hunger is not debatable." Ickes thought primarily of the finished job—Hopkins of the numbers of unemployed who could be put on the job immediately. As an instance of Hopkins' impatience: someone came to him with an idea for a project which would take a lot of time to prepare in detail but which, Hopkins was assured, "will work out in the long run," and his exasperated

comment on this was, "People don't eat in the long run—they eat every day"

To quote further from Roosevelt's review of C.W.A.:

> Its organization and operation were essentially different from that of the F E R.A (which was) mostly a State and local program loosely supervised and in part financed by the Federal Government but actually administered and exercised locally. The C W.A. was, however, completely operated and 90 per cent financed by the Federal Government.

It was, actually, one of the broadest programs ever instituted by the United States Government. It sought to provide for individuals work as near as possible to their previous employment and to pay the prevailing wage in each category and region with a minimum of thirty cents an hour. It abolished the "Means Test" whereby a man who sought government relief was denied it if a member of his family was already employed, Hopkins felt that the Means Test was an insult to the dignity of the individual who, able and anxious to work, was forced into the status of an idle dependent The organization of C.W.A. was a clean sweep for the Hopkins theories of work relief, and keen were the fears and violent the trembling of those who did not trust him, who suspected him of being an apostle of State Socialism rather than Jeffersonian Democracy But Roosevelt had confidence in Hopkins' imagination and ingenuity and both those qualities were required in abundance on this program.

The charge has often been made that Roosevelt was "so intoxicated with the pomp and privilege of power that he could not bear to delegate authority" Much of that came in later years when the defense effort was mounting and Roosevelt for some eighteen months stubbornly refused to appoint one man to be head of the huge production program, but, when he did finally appoint Donald Nelson, he delegated to him more authority than Nelson was able to handle The record in general seems to prove that Roosevelt delegated authority with a lavish hand when he could find a man willing to take it—and he certainly found one in Hopkins When he told Hopkins to invent jobs for four million men and women in thirty d expected him to do it in his own way and without co

coming back to the White House for advice on details. The President also told Hopkins to talk the whole thing over with Harold Ickes and "straighten it out" with him; but that proved a much more difficult task than the four million jobs.

Roosevelt was greatly comforted by the fact that he had his old friend Frank Walker on hand to keep an eye on Hopkins' activities. Walker, as President of the National Emergency Council, exercised a supervisory control over all the sudden New Deal agencies. Montana born, a graduate of Notre Dame, he was a quiet, gentle, trustworthy, unquenchably friendly man who was invaluable to Roosevelt through the years as spreader of oil on troubled administrative waters. He later became Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and Postmaster General after Farley "took a walk." Roosevelt knew he could trust Walker to report if Hopkins were showing signs of going crazy and producing dangerous political repercussions throughout the country. Indeed, in the early days of C.W.A., such reports did come into the headquarters of the National Emergency Council from its State Directors. Some of them were almost hysterical with alarm at the intimations of wholesale waste and even corruption in the program. Walker decided to take a trip through the country and see for himself. He returned to Washington with the assurance that C.W.A. was doing more than all the other New Deal measures to boost morale. He said that in his own home State of Montana, "I saw old friends of mine—men I had been to school with—digging ditches and laying sewer pipe. They were wearing their regular business suits as they worked because they couldn't afford overalls and rubber boots. If I ever thought, 'There, but for the grace of God—' it was right then." The sight of these old friends made him feel sick at heart, but when he talked to individuals he felt very differently, for they were happy to be working and proud of what they were doing. One of them pulled some silver coins out of his pocket and showed them to Walker. "Do you know, Frank," he said, "this is the first money I've had in my pockets in a year and a half? Up to now, I've had nothing but tickets that you exchange for groceries." Another said, "I hate

to think what would have happened if this work hadn't come along The last of my savings had run out. I'd sold or hocked everything I could. And my kids were hungry I stood in front of the window of the bake-shop down the street and I wondered just how long it would be before I got desperate enough to pick up a rock and heave it through that window and grab some bread to take home" It was not only hunger from which these men suffered, it was the deep sense of indignity and of grave injury to their national pride The analogy used by President Roosevelt in his Inaugural Address was far from inappropriate Americans felt as if, at a time when their country was being invaded and ravaged by alien enemies, their government had failed to provide them with any weapons for defense. Now, armed with a shovel, or even a rake, they felt able to fight back "Leaf raking" became the term of supreme opprobrium for the New Deal, but great numbers of people who did the raking preferred it to breadlines or grocery tickets

Walker said to Roosevelt "I'd pay little attention to those who criticize the creation of C W A or its administration. Hopkins and his associates are doing their work well. They've done a magnificent job It is amazing when you consider that within the short time since C W A was established four million idle have been put to work During Christmas week many of them were standing in a payroll line for the first time in eighteen months You have every reason to be proud of C W.A and its administration It is my considered opinion that this has averted one of the most serious crises in our history. Revolution is an ugly word to use, but I think we were dangerously close at least to the threat of it"

Walker was not always so cordial in his approval of Hopkins' administrative methods, but in his reports to the President throughout the New Deal years, he was stanch in supporting Hopkins against the numerous and violent critics A large part of Hopkins' original prestige with Roosevelt was undoubtedly attributable to Walker The direct and unmistakable benefits to the jobless and their families were augmented by many evidences of business revival Within the first weeks of C.W A.

shoe stores all over the country began to report that they were sold out and shoe factories began to reopen to meet the enormously increased demand.

C.W.A. came none too soon. That winter of 1933-34 was a terrible one. The temperature went to 56° below zero in parts of New England and to 6° below even in Washington, D.C., where the legislators could feel it. This was the first of a series of natural calamities—including droughts, floods and hurricanes—which occurred during these years as if to test the Roosevelt Administration in its program for national recovery. Hopkins had to increase his efforts to meet widespread suffering. By mid-January nearly twenty million people were dependent on Federal relief for the essentials of life and the $400 millions granted to C.W.A. was almost gone. Hopkins, with White House approval, went to the Congress for $950 millions more.

The Republican National Committee denounced him and C.W.A. for "gross waste" and "downright corruption" and one Democrat, Congressman George B. Terrell of Texas, arose to say, "The Constitution is being violated here every day because there isn't a line in the Constitution that authorizes the expenditure of Federal money for other than Federal purposes. . . . I think [C.W.A.] is going to start civil war and revolution when we do stop it anyway. . . . The others [in Congress] can go through on these things like dumb driven cattle if they want to, but . . . I won't sacrifice my independence for any office I ever heard of."

But Terrell's was a lone voice on Capitol Hill. The members of Congress were hearing from their constituencies the same kind of reports that Frank Walker had brought back to Washington, and there was an election coming up in 1934. So Hopkins got the money. One lamentably profane Senator was quoted by *Time* magazine as saying, "If Roosevelt ever becomes Jesus Christ, he should have Harry Hopkins as his prophet."

Time ran Hopkins' picture on its cover and, in a long article about him, paid tribute to him for having done "a thoroughly professional job" as administrator. *Time* reported:

Of the $950,000,000 given him by the new law, Mr. Hopkins said he intended to use $450,000,000 to taper off C.W.A. gradually and $500,000,000 for direct relief. Congress would like him to use more for C.W.A. but he came out strongly against it, declaring that C.W.A. was an emergency measure, should not be permanent, should be gradually demobilized.

Hopkins was not then speaking from the heart. He was, with utmost reluctance and deep disappointment, obeying orders. For, even while he was scoring triumphs on Capitol Hill, C.W.A. was being torpedoed at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue and this was done not by Republican enemies of the New Deal but by conservative elements within the Democratic party itself. The first crack in it came when Southern influence caused the abandonment of the thirty cents an hour wage minimum—causing wages in some parts of the South to drop to ten cents an hour or worse. Then Roosevelt was persuaded by Lewis Douglas and other economic advisers that there was something in what Terrell of Texas had said. They felt that there was serious potential danger in the work relief program, their argument being that if you got large numbers of people settled in government-made jobs, with guarantees of security that they would not readily obtain from private industry, *you might never be able to get them off the public pay roll.* That argument carried weight with Roosevelt and he told Hopkins that C.W.A. must be liquidated before spring and the former F.E.R.A. program of direct relief resumed.

Although this was a bitter blow to Hopkins, it provided him with his first opportunity to demonstrate his utter loyalty to Roosevelt. He did not afflict the President with a threat to resign. He was harsh in compelling his shocked associates to take this setback without complaint and to get on with the job of relief. Roosevelt was keenly sensitive to this and his personal fondness for as well as confidence in Hopkins increased more than ever at this time. The more he contemplated the C.W.A. record, the less he thought of the advice given him by Douglas, who soon came to the breaking point with his Chief and left the government. (He returned after Pearl Harbor and worked very closely and amicably with Hopkins during the wa

The ending of C.W.A. produced protests throughout the country which could not possibly be ignored. In one week upwards of 50,000 letters and 7,000 telegrams came into the White House. There were riots in various parts of the country. The people on the relief rolls made it clear that they agreed with Hopkins in his theory that direct relief had a demoralizing effect: they did not want tickets for baskets of groceries—they wanted *work*. In a review of the whole Relief Program and problem, *Fortune* magazine made the following rather supercilious statement:

> Direct relief is—purely and simply—the Dole. Almost as purely and simply, work relief is the Dole, too, except that it does provide a little more self respect for its recipients: at least it creates for them the fiction that they are still useful citizens and that there is work for them to do.

Yet, in this same article, *Fortune* presented many illuminating instances of work relief which belied the cynical use of the word "fiction." For example: Hopkins took over 250,000 bales of surplus cotton from the A.A.A. for the dual purpose of supplying work relief for women who made the cotton into mattresses and then distributing the mattresses to people who could not otherwise afford them. (This evoked howls of protest from mattress manufacturers but it was pointed out to them that they were not being subjected to unfair competition since the purchasing power of the recipients of the work relief mattresses was zero.)

For another example, as cited by *Fortune:*

> In Bay City, Michigan, an underwear manufacturing concern went bankrupt, and the closing of its plant threw some 250 workers on relief. Whereupon the State Relief Administration rented the plant, reopened it, and put the 250 workers back at their jobs on a subsistence level to make enough underwear to give every relief family in the state two sets for the winter.

The C.W.A. was unquestionably an expensive program and could not have been continued for long on its original scale. But its achievement in three and a half months was a memorable one. It included: 40,000 schools built or improved; 12,000,000

feet of sewer pipe laid; 469 airports built, 529 more improved, 255,000 miles of road built or improved; 50,000 teachers employed to teach adults or to keep open rural schools which must otherwise have been closed, 3,700 playgrounds and athletic fields built or improved.

Among the 4,264,000 for whom work was found were 3,000 writers and artists, the inception of the Federal Arts Program, to the numerous criticisms of which Hopkins replied, "Hell! They've got to eat just like other people."

In the generally thankless task of government service—and in other fields of endeavor as well—a few words of encouragement from a respectworthy source can wipe out the effects of thousands of words of vituperation from the hostile press or the Congress. Shortly after the start of C W A, Aubrey Williams received a letter from Gutzon Borglum, the American sculptor of heroic mold. Williams turned this letter over to Hopkins who treasured it all the rest of his life Borglum wrote·

> You have the only department that is free to help the creative impulses of the Nation, all other aids take on the character of hard business The Government continues the hard banker-broker business man we have become
>
> Mr Hopkins—the C W A—almost immediately shifted public aid from cold business to human helpfulness and that to usefulness, converting mass employment into an army of workers whose goal must be to better, to make more livable our towns and cities, our schools more cheerful, our playgrounds and parks a pride and a delight
>
> It is not a long step from this to one of organizing the latent talent whose belly has been longer empty and who carries a double hunger, unexpressed, creative longing, fitted and anxious to be a part in the great comeback.
>
> Mr Hopkins' department has opened the door, a crack, but opened to this great field of human interest and thought The world of creative impulse, without which people perish Frankly, a people have as much right to be saved as the trees, the birds, the whole animal kingdom, and no more, but their civilization must be saved
>
> I am not orthodox religiously, but all there is of God in creation is what man has in lonely martyrdom wrung from nowhere and everywhere, and it has been his consciousness of that that makes him master of the world, and not business or money, we must save that, civilization contains all that is precious in what we think we are Will a *basket of bread save that, a full belly and a dry back? Is there nothing*

about this fine young—still young, still virgin continent—tha
tion needs, in which civilization can spread a greater wing? I
in gold—the worship of Aaron's calf—made our final bow in
of world fame, to be remembered with Rome for our abuse of

We are the heirs, if not the children, of Washington, Je
Franklin, Tom Paine, Pat Henry. Have we reached the life lin
of the little Republic they shaped for us, have we wholly fo
that what we are is something quite outside business and our
and that something in our minds and what there is in our hea
real importance? Mr. Hopkins, you and his aides, have it
hands to give to young America a chance for heart and soul
which she has never had. I don't mind telling you I hammer
for years to throw some small part of our vast official power
the civil life into the soul and heart of human endeavor. I aw
interest, Root was for it, but little happened. Taft laughed
plans out of court, and Wilson, who gave me a degree, said "
ative impulse must submit to business competition."

I knew Harding almost intimately, and he was a kind, fir
royed by his friends. He could see a "welfare departmen
reative impulse does not want or need a welfare departme
answered a call to go to the West and carve Mount Ru
oolidge . . . was interested; he knew as much about art as I d
the late Llama of Thibet; but he knew history; he knew the
peoples; he knew the eternal fight civilization had to ma
its own physical mass. . . .

Hoover was indifferent and dead from the top dow
seemed to have ceased beating to the call of laughter,
charm of letters, the color and mystery of Innis and Mille
of Angelo or the burning words of Tom Paine. Everyt
to die in his hands; I believe if a rose was put into his h
wilt. . . .

I want to suggest to you that you make your thou
creative ones among us greater, more effective in its
feature, make your aid more than ½ of one percent;
five percent; concentrate on the schools, the poor
schools, the public schools, put our educators to wo
children; make their classrooms, studyrooms and ha
color and design, fairytales and history, home life.
masterpieces, and you should not be discouraged
failures; the real success will be in the interest,
which you will awaken; and what that does to
There are twenty-odd million children that will
millions of teachers and mothers, and an occasior
would think of this very studiously; I believe th

which Hopkins, you and his aides can coax the soul of America back to interest in life.

Gutzon Borglum to the contrary notwithstanding, the Federal Arts Projects were subjected to more derision and more charges of "un-American activities" than almost any other part of the huge relief program. And, they were the first to be lopped off by Congress when the revolt against the program set in. The word "boondoggle" came into the language to describe the more fantastic projects dreamed up by Hopkins and other "wild-eyed radicals" for the purpose of wasting the taxpayers' money. For years the anti-New Deal press had a great deal of fun digging up new work relief projects which sounded very comical, particularly those involving jobless white collar workers who could not build bridges across San Francisco Bay, or dams in the Columbia or Tennessee Valleys. One of these projects, discovered in New York City, involved the study of ancient safety pins. This led to an exchange between Hopkins and reporters at a press conference, the literal transcript of which provides an excellent example of his explosive method of speech:

Question. Are you contemplating any Federal investigation of any kind of the general situation in New York City?

Answer (*Hopkins*). No. You mean apropos of this stuff in the paper a day or two ago?

Q. Apropos of the project for safety pins.

A. Sure, I have something to say about that.

Q. I asked first, have you contemplated making an investigation?

A. Why should I? There is nothing the matter with that. They are damn good projects—excellent projects. That goes for all the projects up there. You know some people make fun of people who speak a foreign language, and dumb people criticize something they do not understand, and that is what is going on up there—God damn it! Here are a lot of people broke and we are putting them to work making researches of one kind or another, running big recreational projects where the whole material costs 3% and practically all the mone
for relief. As soon as you begin doing anything for white collar p
there is a certain group of people who begin to throw bricks.
no apologies to make. As a matter of fact, we have not done
The plain fact of the matter is that there are people writing a
ing about these things in New York who know nothing about i

projects. They haven't taken the trouble to really look into it. I have a pile of letters from businessmen, if that is important, saying that these projects are damn good projects. These fellows can make fun and shoot at white collar people, if they want to. I notice somebody says facetiously, "repair all streets." That is all they think about—money to repair streets. I think there are things in life besides that. We have projects up there to make Jewish dictionaries. There are rabbis who are broke and on the relief rolls. One hundred and fifty projects up there deal with pure science. What of it? I think those things are good in life. They are important in life. We are not backing down on any of those projects. They can make fun of these white collar and professional people if they want to. I am not going to do it. They can say, let them use a pick and shovel to repair streets, when the city ought to be doing that. I believe every one of these research projects are good projects. We don't need any apologies!

Q. In that connection, I am not trying to argue with you.

A. I am not really mad. . . .

Q. About this white collar—there are 300 million for white collar relief. Would it be your idea in administering 300 million, that you might just as well continue?

A. The best of them will be continued, sure. Those are research [...]jects they are jumping on.

[...]. As a matter of fact, don't you think there are a lot of research [...]rojects that would be more valuable to mankind in general than the classic example of ancient safety pins?

A. That is a matter of opinion. You may be interested in washing machines—somebody else [...]fety pins. Every one of those projects are worked out by technic[...]. In the field of medical science, we have doctors; in physic[...] physicists; in the social, social economists. Every one o[...] [...]e direction of competent research people. You can [...] that is easy to do. A lot of people are opposed [...] these white collar professional fellows sit ho[...] a lot of people want.

Q. You say that people [...]

A. No, these fellows w[...] who don't believe in the w[...] direct relief. These peopl[...] about these technical proje[...] isn't utilitarian.

The reports of this c[...] that "people are too dam[...] plenty of circulation in [...]

midst of war, Hopkins was assailed in scathing editorials the man who believed that "the American people are damned dumb." The *Washington Post* published a poem by a Virginia lady ending with the verse:

> Though we still pay up our tax,
> Mr Hopkins!
> We are sharpening the ax,
> (Mr Hopkins)
> Testing it with cautious thumb—
> And we're telling you, by gum,
> We are not quite too damned dumb,
> Mr Hopkins!

Nevertheless, Hopkins generally got on very well with working newspapermen (not including publishers). They appreciated the quickness and directness of his answers and the quotability of his cracks A description of him at a press conference was written by the immortal Ernie Pyle in the *Washington News:*

> And you, Mr Hopkins, I liked you because you look like commo[n] people I don t mean any slur by that either, because they don't com[e] any commoner than I am, but you sit there so easy swinging ba[ck] and forth in your swivel chair, in your blue suit and blue shirt, a[nd] your neck is sort of skinny, like poor people s necks, and you [look] honest, too
>
> And you answer the reporters questions as tho you were talk[ing] to them personally, instead of being a big official It tickled me [the] way you would say, 'I can t answer that,' in a tone that almost [said] out loud, 'Now you knew damn well when you asked me th[at I] couldn t answer that
>
> And that old office of yours, Mr Hopkins, good Lord, it's ter[rible] It's so little in the first place, and the walls are faded and water [marks] run up the walls and your desk doesn t even shine But I gue[ss you] don't care Maybe it wouldn't look right for you to have a nice [office] anyway, when you re dealing in misery all the time
>
> One nice thing about your office being so little, tho, the re[porters] have to pack close up around your desk, and they can [hear] you well, and it s sort of like talking to you in your home [...] there they'd be sitting down, I hope
>
> The reporters tell me, Mr Hopkins, that you re about th[e] ... of the big men who hold press conferences ... but you always come ...

now with something pretty good. And you've got a pleasant, clean-cut voice, too, and they say you never try to lie out of anything.

Hopkins' office, as described by Ernie Pyle, was in the Walker-Johnson Building, on New York Avenue, between the Corcoran Gallery and the Girl Scouts' Little House. It was a shabby, old building, with a blind newsdealer by its front steps. When you went into it you were assailed by an odor of antiseptic which suggested the smell of a combination of hospital, locker room and stable. As *Fortune* described it, "This, you might also say, is the very odor of Relief. It is at once prophylactic and unclean." Hopkins' first office had been in the Federal Security Building, but he fought his way out of that and continued for five years to resist all attempts to move his headquarters into new government buildings which were marbled and air conditioned. In addition to his natural aversion to pomp and circumstance he had for a long time the feeling that he was only a temporary figure on the Washington scene. His position seemed insecure in the extreme; he had arisen suddenly to this prominence and he might as suddenly be blown back into obscurity. Although he attempted to give the impression of being lighthearted and carefree, it was obvious to those closest to him that he was forever fearful that the critics of the Relief Program might one day achieve vindication—that someone would be proved guilty of graft for which Hopkins himself would inevitably assume responsibility, however spotless his personal record or that of his immediate staff. He knew all too well how powerful were the interests which were continually trying to detect and expose evidences of graft and corruption and he knew also that it was humanly impossible to keep completely clean a program that was administered to such a large extent by local politicians. It was understandable that the result of his constant worrying should be severe digestive disorders. Actually, there were amazingly few instances of actual embezzlement of public funds, and in each of these the blame was very clearly fixed on local officials (some of them Republicans) and not on the Federal Government.

During his years in Washington, Hopkins wrote very few personal letters—and in those managed to tell very little of

interest—but at the end of June, 1934, he revealed something of his state of mind in a letter to his brother, Lewis:

> I am planning to sail for Europe on Wednesday the 4th unless something interferes at the last moment. This, of course, is always possible around here. I can scarcely realize that I have been with the Government now for a year I had no intention of remaining longer than that but I seem to be well on my way to stay through next winter anyway I think you know, one of the great difficulties about this place is what to use for money When I decided to come it looked fairly simple from that point of view because the Board of Directors of the N.Y.T.B. Association decided to give me a year's salary for my ten years work there The finances of the organization, however, went sour and the President died Recently one of the Board told me that they are anxious to at least fill part of that agreement and I have some substantial hope now that I can get enough money at least to keep me from getting head over heels in debt
>
> The other side of the picture is that this has been a fascinating experience It is worth any amount of money to have a ringside seat at this show I have learned enough about it to know that one should not bank too heavily on anything here for more than a few months at a time While the work is fascinating and the President is a grand person to work for I have no desire to stay here indefinitely.

Hopkins at this time was showing definite signs of physical strain and the European trip was taken largely at Roosevelt's urging. Indeed, it was more than urging—it was an order. Always a master at the art of relaxing himself, Roosevelt could enforce relaxation on an overworked subordinate by sending him off on some comparatively meaningless mission, preferably one which involved a sea change He wrote to Hopkins:

> It is my desire that you make a trip abroad as soon as you can possibly get away and look over the housing and social insurance schemes in England, Germany, Austria and Italy, because I think you might pick up some ideas useful to us in developing our own American plan for security
>
> Incidentally, in view of the steady grind you have had, I think that the sea trip will do you a lot of good

Hopkins told a friend that the President also asked him to have a look at the personnel in American embassies and legations and to report to him confidentially thereon. Roosevelt felt then that there were individuals in the Foreign Service who

were not entirely sympathetic to the policies of his Administration and as the years went by and he received reports from Hopkins and many others who traveled abroad he became increasingly sure of it.

Hopkins and his wife sailed on the *S.S. Washington* on July 4, returning August 23. During this summer there occurred the Nazi blood purge, followed by Hitler's statement to the quivering Reichstag, "The Supreme Court of the German people during these 24 hours consisted of myself!" Which should have been enough to inform anyone of just what to expect from the Nazi regime. During that same summer the Nazis murdered Chancellor Dollfuss in Vienna, and Hindenburg died, thereby removing the last formal obstacle to Hitler's seizure of total power. However, I can find no record of the effect on Hopkins of these revealing events or of anything that he saw and heard in the police states. In his only published comments on his trip to Europe he expressed enthusiasm for the social security and public housing programs in Britain, saying that even the Conservatives there were well ahead of the New Deal in social progress. The day of his return to Washington he lunched with the President and then spent the week end with him at Hyde Park but he left no notes on these conversations. It is quite possible that, since Roosevelt himself had lately returned from a 10,000-mile cruise on the *U.S.S. Houston* through the Caribbean and the Panama Canal to Cocos Island and Hawaii, and back to Portland, Oregon, Hopkins was not called upon to do much of the talking.

A Congressional election was then coming up and this was to be the first real test of the New Deal with the voters. Roosevelt's political opponents, who had been rendered relatively speechless during the "honeymoon" period of 1933, were now regaining the powers of public protest, and violent criticisms of the "spending orgy" and the conversion to "State Socialism" were being heard throughout the land. The Republicans knew that they had no hope of regaining any real power in 1934 but they were energetically starting the counterrevolution which might come to triumph in 1936. A minor amusement in the course of this campaign was provided when Hopkins

cil. They played around for a while in the swimming pool, tossing a water polo ball back and forth—leading a reporter watching from the crest of a nearby hill to remark, "They seem to be practicing passing the buck"; then they got down to work on the 1935 development of the New Deal. The next day the *New York Times* published an article by Delbert Clark, saying:

> The fire-eating Administrator of Federal Emergency Relief, Harry L. Hopkins, may safely be credited with spoiling the Thanksgiving Day dinners of many conservatives who had been led to believe that President Roosevelt's recent zig to the right would not be followed by a zag to the left.
>
> Not that Mr. Hopkins had any idea that his EPIA (End Poverty in America) plan would leak out unauthorized, but now that it has leaked out it will bear examination.
>
> From the fragmentary advices in Washington, what Mr. Hopkins proposes to the President is about as follows:
>
> An expansion of the subsistence homesteads and rural rehabilitation programs to include as many families as need such accommodations or are in a position to accept them.
>
> A large-scale removal of families from submarginal (unprofitable) land to home sites where they can live on a more civilized scale.
>
> Federal advances of funds to both categories to equip their homesteads with tools, live stock, etc.
>
> An expansion of the program already in progress on an experimental scale to give factory work to the idle, through what the FERA softly calls "canning centres," "needlecraft centres," or the like.
>
> A large-scale, low-cost housing program to shelter those unable for one reason or another to move to subsistence homesteads, since it appears there is no purpose entirely to depopulate the large cities.
>
> A social insurance program to give security in the future.

When the 74th Congress convened a month later, Roosevelt announced the new Relief Program. He said:

> The Federal Government must and shall quit this business of relief. . . .
>
> Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers. . . .
>
> I am not willing that the vitality of our people be further sapped by the giving of cash, of market baskets, of a few hours of weekly work cutting grass, raking leaves or picking up papers in the public parks. We must preserve not only the bodies of the unemployed from destruction but also their self-respect, their self-reliance and courage and determination. This decision brings me to the problem of what

lute control over the spending of these billions which could yield such rich returns in pork barrel patronage? The leading proponents of this question were Democrats rather than Republicans, the latter being glad to go along on anything that was opposed to Roosevelt. The opposition ro the Bill was strengthened enormously by the unrefuted claim that Roosevelt was asking for a blank check. As Walter Lippmann wrote:

> The Senators were not told who was going to administer the program. They were not given definite information about the scope or character of the program. They were not even furnished a thorough, cogent, and considered argument in favor of the Bill. . . .
>
> The Senate was confronted not with a policy but a mystery. This aroused the opposition of Senators who do not believe in work relief, of Senators who conscientiously object to voting money and powers blindly. It was the opportunity of Senators who for partisan reasons were glad to frustrate the President, of Senators who wished to get at the pork barrel.

Hopkins was called before the Senate Appropriations Committee but he evidently did not help much to clarify matters, for the Associated Press subsequently reported so much dissension and confusion in the Committee that one member who did not wish his name used predicted the Bill would be completely redrafted from beginning to end. The truth was that Hopkins himself did not know what was really in Roosevelt's mind. He noted, after a private talk with the President, "We went over the organization of the work program—more charts in pencil—he loves charts—no two of them are ever the same which makes it a bit baffling at times."

The two men most frequently mentioned as Administrators of the Relief Program were, obviously, Hopkins and Ickes. But it was part of Roosevelt's technique not to let anyone know—including the two men themselves—which one he favored. Thus, neither of them was really in a position to go before the Senate and fight for the Bill. Neither of them knew just exactly where he stood or with what authority he might speak either to the Congress or to the press. There was no definite spearhead of opposition to various amendments proposed and the Administration leaders on the Senate floor could only compromise here

and there to safeguard the main interests of the Bill. It was finally passed, after two months, with restrictions which were highly disappointing to Hopkins. One of these restrictions, sponsored primarily by Senator William E. Borah, had a melancholy ring in view of subsequent developments: "No part of the appropriations shall be used for munitions, warships, or military or naval matériel" (Roosevelt had already used W.P.A. funds for naval construction, including the aircraft carriers *Enterprise* and *Yorktown*, but the isolationists were already cherishing the belief that the way to keep out of war was not to prepare for it.) The most important amendment of all in its political implications was one providing that "any Administrator receiving a salary of $5,000 or more per annum in this Program shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

This, of course, spelled just one word patronage It provided some new education for Hopkins in the political facts of life. In his early dealings with the Congress, particularly on the sore subject of the minimum wage, he had encountered vehement assertion of States rights by the conservative Democrats But it was a very different matter when it came to patronage privileges connection with the disbursement of Federal funds The Senors wanted to keep control of these privileges in their own ands rather than let the States Governors get first licks at the normous gravy spoon Hopkins had been able to cope with the political demands of the Governors and Mayors, sometimes by resorting to the primitive tactics of telling them to go to hell. But he could not do that to the Congress He knew that from here on out he must clear each appointment in each State with the appropriate Senators, and he must pay heed to the recommendations of James A Farley and the Democratic National Committee as to who should be "taken care of" This was the real basis of the political coloration of the Works Progress Administration I believe that this was the nearest that Hopkins ever came to quitting the job in Washington and that Roosevelt talked him out of it, persuading him that he could square his conscience with the realities of the two-party system of government. Hopkins said later, "I thought at first! ... be comp

non-political. Then they told me I had to be part non-political and part political. I found that was impossible, at least for me. I finally realized there was nothing for it but to be all-political." So, the altruistic welfare worker—the lover of Keats—developed into one of the toughest of politicians.

With the passage of the Work Relief Bill, Roosevelt was brought face to face with some difficult political problems of his own. He left for a Caribbean vacation just as the Bill was assured of passage, at the end of March, and, when it became known that Hopkins was on the Presidential train headed south, the press jumped to the conclusion that the F.E.R.A. Administrator had stolen the inside track. The controversies between Hopkins and Ickes had by that time been widely advertised, and Roosevelt knew that whichever of these men he appointed to the top job would be a prime target for the snipers' fire. Whereas, if he passed over them both and named a new man, it would imply repudiation of the whole Relief Program up to date. He settled the problem in a superbly characteristic manner: he called back to Washington the moderate, reliable Frank Walker—who was everybody's friend and nobody's target—and formed a triumvirate of Walker, Ickes and Hopkins to run the gigantic show.

I have neither the knowledge nor the physical strength to set down in detail the whole, intricate details of the workings of the new triheaded organization. I can only attempt to describe, in a general way, what was the division of responsibility.

Walker directed the *Division of Applications and Information,* which "received all suggested plans for the useful expenditure of public funds, no matter what the source of these suggestions may be," and sorted, checked, studied and tabulated these plans, then passed them on to

The Advisory Committee on Allotments, of which Ickes was named Chairman, and which was to recommend projects to the President for approval. This Committee was directed "to meet in round table conference at least once a week." It was composed of the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture and Labor; the Directors of the National Emergency Council, the Progress Division, Procurement, the Bureau of the Budget, Soil Erosion, Emergency Conservation Work, Rural Resettlement, Relief

and Rural Electrification, the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, the Commissioner of Reclamation; the Chiefs of the Forest Service, Bureau of Public Roads, Division of Grade Crossing Elimination and the Urban Housing Division; together with representatives of the Business Advisory Council, organized labor, farm organizations, the National Resources Board, American Bankers Association and the U S Conference of Mayors When this Committee—which must have required quite a large round [tab]le—made their recommendations, the projects went to the [Pr]esident s desk for final approval

The third division of the organization—the Hopkins part—[w]as given the name *Works Progress Administration*. Its original [t]erms of reference, as one reads them, are not entirely clear. It was assigned various co-ordinating, investigating, recommending, regulating and reporting functions, and Roosevelt suggested that it would be mainly a 'bookkeeping' organization. Only as a sort of afterthought in the Executive Order establishing W P.A did the President give it authority also to "recommend and carry on small useful projects designed to assure a maximum of employment in all localities That was a loophole for Hopkins—and Roosevelt was well aware of it—which assumed [con]tinental proportions Those "small projects" represented an [ex]penditure eventually of over ten billion dollars

Such was the cumbersome high command of the Relief Pro[gr]am Ickes at the head of an enormous committee and with [P].W A as an operating agency in his Department, Hopkins [w]ith responsibility for the millions of individuals on the relief [r]olls and with W P A as the major operating agency, and Frank Walker squarely in the middle as Chief Accountant, custodian of facts and figures and keeper of the peace between the two [wa]rring New Dealers Thus, with this apparently overelaborate and diffuse set of controls, Roosevelt enforced at least the semblance of harmony in operations but, more importantly, established a kind of political insurance for the relief projects He certainly did this the hard way for himself, for he imposed upon himself apparently staggering obligations in the maintenance of personal relations with all the diverse elements invo[lved], including organized labor and the American Ban[kers Associ]ation:

but he was supernally confident of his ability to do this, and events proved that his confidence was not misplaced. In the first three years of this program something like a quarter of a million individual projects—ranging from suspension bridges to sewing circles—passed through Walker's office to Ickes' committee and thence across the President's overcrowded desk from which the vast majority of the projects approved were passed to Hopkins who converted them into actual man hours of work. The operation of relief was not all directed by Hopkins; there were sixty different agencies involved, including of course P.W.A. and the important Farm Resettlement Administration which, to Hopkins' regret, was moved from his area of authority and placed in the Department of Agriculture under the direction of Rexford Tugwell. But Hopkins was the guardian of the entire relief rolls and it was thus his responsibility to see to it that the millions of destitute, unemployed individuals were given work by some agency—and his W.P.A. was by all odds the biggest of the Federal employers and spenders.

At this point, it may be well for me to confess that I was one of the large number of Roosevelt supporters who, during the New Deal years, could not understand what was the difference between W.P.A. and P.W.A. and why there should have been two of them with the same three initials. Actually, the difference between the two organizations was fundamental; it was the difference between two opposed philosophies; it was essentially the difference between Hopkins and Ickes. The former had the point of view of a welfare worker—that the main object was to get the greatest possible number of people to work in the shortest possible space of time and that the productivity of the work that they performed was a matter of only secondary importance. Ickes had the point of view of a businessman (albeit an exceptionally liberal one); he believed that the best way to relieve unemployment on a long-range basis was to "prime the pump" by subsidizing private enterprise for the construction of massive, self-liquidating projects. Ickes was proud of the amount of heavy, durable materials that went into the P.W.A. projects, such as Bonneville Dam; whereas Hopkins boasted of the small percentage of the W.P.A. dollar that went for materials and the

consequently large percentage that went directly into the pockets of the workers on relief Since the Hopkins point of view was the one that prevailed with Roosevelt, it would have seemed logical to have merged P.W.A. into W.P.A. and thereby end the confusion, but if this had been done, Ickes would undoubtedly have resigned in a cloud of sulphur, and Roosevelt was always ready to go to almost any lengths to forestall a resignation in his own official family

It was (and, as this is written, still is) Ickes' conviction that the confusion of initials was deliberate, that Hopkins picked W.P.A. for his new organization, instead of reviving the former C.W.A., so that the public would in its alphabetic bewilderment give him credit for the achievements of P W.A. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the interminable criticisms of Hopkins' "leaf-raking" projects had got under his skin and he sought to develop projects which could be pointed to with pride as of lasting value to the nation. This led to a new form of cutthroat competition between Hopkins and Ickes when the possibility of an important new project appeared—for example, the reconstruction and modernization of the sewage system in Atlanta, Georgia—there would be warfare between P.W.A. and W.P.A. for possession of it. There would be political maneuvering, propaganda campaigns, lobbying among the Georgia delegation in the Congress, etc., until the dispute had to be referred to the harassed umpire, Frank Walker, who would usually render what Ickes has described as a "Solomonian verdict," giving half of the project to each agency Since this decision usually satisfied neither [illegible]

[illegible]

would enjoy the prestige to be derived from laying the sewer pipes (In the case of the Atlanta project, it was Ickes who won out; but Hopkins was not often thus defeated.)

In this connection, I intrude a personal recollection of Roosevelt which fixed itself in my memory as a revelation of one of the facets of his incomprehensible character. Early in the war I had been on a long airplane flight to visit one of the remote outposts of the Office of

which I was director. The return trip was very rough and I got the sensation in my ears that one sometimes has after swimming. After my return, I spent the week end at Shangri-la, Roosevelt's retreat in the Maryland hills. I was still inclining my head and shaking it, as though to pour the water out of my ears. The President asked what was the matter with me. I told him about the long, bumpy trip.

"I didn't know you'd been away," he said. "What did you go there for?"

I explained that there had been trouble in our outpost office and I had gone to fire the man in charge of it. I hastened to add, to the President of the United States, that the man in question was not in any way disloyal or corrupt—merely not the right personality for the particular job. Roosevelt looked at me with that expression of wide-eyed innocence that he could always assume and asked, "And did you fire him?"

"Yes, sir," I said.

His face now expressed wondering incredulity.

"How did you do it?" he asked.

My answer was pretty lame: "Well, sir—I just asked the man up to my hotel room, and then I said to him, 'Jack—I—I'm terribly sorry, but—I've got to ask for your resignation.' Fortunately, he was very decent about the whole thing and resigned."

Roosevelt now had an expression of open amazement and said, "I can't believe it. I can't believe you had the courage to fire anybody. I thought you were a complete softy—like me."

That scrap of highly unimportant conversation can indicate why those who knew Roosevelt well could never imagine him assuming the role of dictator. He could be and was ruthless and implacable with those whom he considered guilty of disloyalty; but with those in his Administration who were inefficient or even recalcitrant or hopelessly inept, but loyal, he was "a complete softy." He wasted precious hours of time and incalculable quantities of energy and ingenuity trying to find face-saving jobs—or "kicking upstairs" methods—for incompetents who should have been thrown out unceremoniously.

Roosevelt's methods of administration—typified in his han-

dling of the work relief organization—were, to say the least, unorthodox. They filled some practical-minded observers with apprehension and dismay, and some with disgust; they filled others with awe and wonder. I am sure that no final appraisal of them can be made for a long time to come, but there is one thing that can be said about these methods—whether they were good or bad, sensible or insane, they *worked*.

While preparing this book I interviewed Harold Smith, who was Director of the Budget from 1939 to 1946 Smith was a modest, methodical, precise man, temperamentally far removed from Roosevelt and Hopkins But I know of no one whose judgment and integrity and downright common sense the President trusted more completely In the course of a long conversation, Smith said to me, "A few months ago, on the first anniversary of Roosevelt's death, a magazine asked me to write an article on Roosevelt as an administrator. I thought it over and decided I was not ready to make such an apprasal. I've been thinking about it ever since. When I worked with Roosevelt—for six years—I thought as did many others that he was a very erratic administrator. But now, when I look back, I can really begin to see the size of his programs They were by far the largest and most complex programs that any President ever put through. People like me who had the responsibility of watching the pennies could only see the five or six or seven per cent of the programs that went wrong, through inefficient organization or direction But now I can see in perspective the ninety-three or -four or -five per cent that went right—including the winning of the biggest war in history—because of unbelievably skillful organization and direction. And if I were to write that article now, I think I'd say that Roosevelt must have been one of the greatest geniuses as an administrator that ever lived What we couldn't appreciate at the time was the fact that he was a real artist in government."

That word "artist" was happily chosen, for it suggests quality of Roosevelt's extraordinary creative imaginatio think that he would have resented the application of the v as implying that he was an impractical dreamer; he

pictured the man on W.P.A. relief as a hopeless derelict leaning on a shovel, and the young man or woman who received aid from the National Youth Administration as a cynical Red and the farmer who benefited from Rural Resettlement as a piece of contemptible white trash; but more than twenty millions of American citizens were at times directly dependent on relief and immeasurably many more—contractors, manufacturers, whole-salers, shopkeepers, landlords, etc.—were indirectly dependent Thus, Roosevelt's opponents were, in effect, giving mortal insul to a large section of the American people and were thereby help-ing to identify him as the champion of the people's dignity. A it turned out, this became a great asset to our national security when war came, the extraordinary prestige and popularity o Franklin D. Roosevelt was the most powerful weapon in ou arsenal.

There is no evidence that Harry Hopkins had any idea, cer-tainly not before the Munich crisis of September, 1938, that h was helping to prepare and condition the country for war. Bu despite the prohibitions against any military activities whicl had been written into the Work Relief Bill, W.P.A. accom-plished a great deal of construction—airports, highways, bridges etc.—that had deliberately strategic importance. In the begin-nings of the works program, Hopkins encountered great diffi-culty in meeting engineering problems. He and his enthusiasti staff were long on understanding of human needs but short o technical knowledge, and it was difficult to employ competen civilian engineers at the civil service wage scale. One of the prin-cipal executives in W.P.A., Colonel Lawrence Westbrook, a reserve officer, urged Hopkins to borrow personnel from the corps of engineers of the Army. Hopkins was at first cool to this suggestion; he knew nothing of the Army and was inclined to be suspicious of all brass hats, feeling that they would have no sympathy with the sociological purposes of relief. But, as criti-cism of W.P.A. multiplied, and after one especially glaring example of bad engineering had made the headlines, Hopkins told Westbrook to go ahead and see what he could do about get-ting an Army officer to serve as Chief Engineer of W.P.A. Roosevelt approved of this and the War Department with some

reluctance, agreed to lend Hopkins the services of Colonel Francis C. Harrington, who was then studying at the École de Guerre in France. Harrington remained with W.P.A until his death in 1940 and did a memorable job Westbrook has written:

> For the first two months after Harrington reported, Hopkins saw very little of him He was not even invited to some of the most important staff meetings Harrington pitched into his work, however, with great zeal and began to get real results I took every opportunity to bring Hopkins and Harrington together, and finally Hopkins began to realize the latter's great worth and potentialities
>
> The rest of the story is well known Within six months after Harrington reported for duty, he had Army engineers in every region and many assigned to important specific projects Their work was excellent and Hopkins gave them full credit
>
> There is no doubt that the experience gained by engineer officers in W.P.A played a large part in qualifying them for the outstanding parts that so many of them played in World War II Furthermore, the experience of Hopkins with these officers gave him a knowledge of the Army that he could not have otherwise possessed, and, I think, prepared the way for the close cooperation that was so effective during World War II

When General George C Marshall became Deputy Chief of Staff in 1938 he made a considerable study of the Relief Program as it had affected the Army He discovered that W P.A and P.W.A between them had spent about $250 millions on War Department projects This figure may seem diminutive, but it looked tremendous at the time (It was not far from the average annual expenditure for the War Department for the preceding fifteen years, which indicates the awful aptness of the statement that, in peacetime, "we Americans treat our Army like a mangy old dog") When he saw what opportunities the Relief Program had offered—and particularly when he talked to officers who had been associated with W P A—General Marshall deplored the extent to which the War Department had failed to take full advantage of these opportunities, but it seemed that some of the aging generals had been too afraid of the Congressional criticism they might incur if they became involved in dealings with such vulgar, radical fellows as Hopkins. Marshall himself never had any such qualms.

Among the Army engineers who came into W.P.A. were

Brehon B. Somervell, who was Commanding General of the Army Service Forces in the Second World War, and there were many others whom Marshall marked for advancement.

In its issue of May 16, 1942, the *Army and Navy Register* said:

> In the years 1935 to 1939, when regular appropriations for the armed forces were so meager, it was the W.P.A. worker who saved many Army posts and Naval stations from literal obsolescence.

But more important than that to our national security—more important than the vast works of strategic importance built by W.P.A. under the direction of Army engineers—were the things that were saved from obsolescence within the relief workers themselves, including their self-respect and their essential patriotism and, most importantly, their skills.

CHAPTER IV

The Presidential Bees

SOME of Hopkins' associates recall that it was early in 1935 that he first began to consider the possibility that he might become a candidate for the Presidency—not, of course, in 1936, when Roosevelt would surely run for a second term, but in 1940, when Roosevelt would retire. It was taken for granted by everyone in the Administration, the President included, that the second term would be the last one. Few if any were those who could conceive that the pressure of world events might become strong enough to break the third term tradition, although some of Roosevelt's opponents charged repeatedly that he was plotting to make himself permanent dictator. So far as I know, there is no actual proof that Hopkins had the Presidential bee in his bonnet before 1936 but, as has been seen, he was an extremely ambitious man and once he had established a position for himself he started restlessly to look toward the next step upward.

He was becoming increasingly prominent as a front-page figure and increasingly close to the President and to Mrs Roosevelt, who was undoubtedly more deeply interested in the Relief Program than in any other phase of government activities. In her constant, tireless trips about the country (the subject of so many repetitious jokes at that time) her principal concern was with the "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," the beneficiaries of

with various dignitaries in the States—Huey Long of Louisiana, Gene Talmadge of Georgia, William Langer of North Dakota, Martin Davey of Ohio—for in these the Federal Government appeared as the champion of probity and the State authorities as players of politics

On March 15, Hopkins noted

> The Ohio politicians have been raising campaign funds thru our office which pleases me not at all

And the next day

> The evidence is complete on Ohio—the political boys went too far this trip and I shall take great delight in giving them the "works." Took the evidence to the President this morning—he wanted to get into the scrap and asked me to prepare a letter for him to sign to me—instructing me to take over the state. He later signed it and approved one of my own which was pretty hot. The President doesn't take a week to decide things like this nor does he need the advice of the politicians—in fact no one was consulted about an action which will throw into the ash can a Democratic Governor and his political machine. In fact I think the boss liked the idea of their being Democrats.

Davey blasted Hopkins as one who could be expected to tear down the Democratic Party But Hopkins said, Politics has no business in relief and wherever it gets in, we intend to get rid of it damned fast. Of course, Roosevelt was well aware that such publicity was extremely helpful to the Democratic party—or, at any rate, to his own Administration which would face the electorate the next year—and it was doing no harm to Hopkins either.

Far less pleasing to the President were the increasing repo

of bickerings between Hopkins and Ickes. He liked fights, but not within his own official family. After the triumvirate commanding the Work Relief Program was formed in the spring, and despite the pacifying influence of Frank Walker, the Hopkins-Ickes "feud" received more and more attention. On July 3 Roosevelt issued a statement spelling out in detail the division of responsibility between the two: roughly, Ickes was to handle the projects costing individually more than $25,000, Hopkins those costing less than that. With the result that when W.P.A. undertook to build a million-dollar highway, or airport, the job would be divided on paper into forty separate projects.

At the end of September, Roosevelt went on a trip which took him across the country and then, again aboard the cruiser *Houston*, to Cocos Island and back through the Panama Canal. On this trip he took along both Ickes and Hopkins, to compel the quarrelsome boys to learn to fish and to love each other.

In the ship's paper, *The Blue Bonnet*, during this cruise, appeared the following news item under the heading "Buried at a":

> The feud between Hopkins and Ickes was given a decent burial today. With flags at half mast . . . the President officiated at the solemn ceremony which we trust will take these two babies off the front page for all time.
>
> Hopkins, as usual, was dressed in his immaculate blues, browns and whites, his fine figure making a pretty sight with the moon-drifted sea in the foreground.
>
> Ickes wore his conventional faded grays, Mona Lisa smile and carried his stamp collection. . . .
>
> Hopkins expressed regret at the unkind things Ickes had said about him and Ickes on his part promised to make it stronger—only more so—as soon as he could get a stenographer who would take it down hot.
>
> The President gave them a hearty slap on the back—pushing them both into the sea. "Full steam ahead," the President ordered.

Of course, that particular bit of shipboard badinage could have been written by no one but the President himself. It provides pretty good evidence of the kind of joshing humor that prevailed in the Roosevelt entourage—humor suggestive of the

atmosphere of the Elks' Club rather than of a potential Berchtesgaden or Kremlin.

During this gay cruise, on a ship that was to go to its death in the Java Sea six years later, Roosevelt received news of Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, the beginning of the series of European Fascist aggressions. Hopkins noted:

> No luck at fishing tho it was a gorgeous day. I think we were out too far for the rest of the party did fairly well. Back at six.
>
> This evening cocktails as usual—Pa Watson doing the honors with what appeared to be powerful Martinis. The President was irritated because the State Department wanted to hold up his Neutrality proclamation and during dinner wrote the note at the table instructing its release at once. The Department had wanted to await the League's action but F.D.R. would have none of it. He wanted to act first. "They are dropping bombs on Ethiopia—and that is war. Why wait for Mussolini to say so." The President said that world sympathy was clearly with Ethiopia. His certainly are. He scanned the news dispatches and everything favorable to Ethiopia brought a loud "Good." He went over the large war maps with great care—places every important town—the railroads and the mountains and rivers. To bed early.

On returning to Washington, Hopkins wrote to his brother Lewis:

> I am just back from the trip and am in no mood to do any work. I am terribly sorry that the trip out west did not materialize, but the President at the last moment asked me to go with him and, of course, there was nothing to do but go. I had a perfectly grand time, saw a part of the country that I had never visited before, and am really rested.
>
> If it would please you any to know it, this letter will also advise you that we are going to get our full quota of men to work sometime in November. It has been a tough job loaded down with government red tape of an almost unbelievable variety. They have tied pink ribbons on everything but the telephone poles and may have to do that yet!
>
> The President got a great reception everywhere he went and the Republicans can trot out somebody better than any I h[illegible] suggested. I think there is no question but that he will be r[illegible] For my own part, however, I have no desire to remain in G[illegible] service forever. Don't be surprised if you hear of my [illegible] time before another year is out. . . .

of bickerings beween Hopkins and Ickes. He liked fights, but not within his own official family. After the triumvirate commanding the Work Relief Program was formed in the spring, and despite the pacifying influence of Frank Walker, the Hopkins-Ickes "feud" received more and more attention. On July 3 Roosevelt issued a statement spelling out in detail the division of responsibility between the two: roughly, Ickes was to handle the projects costing individually more than $25,000, Hopkins those costing less than that. With the result that when W.P.A. undertook to build a million-dollar highway, or airport, the job would be divided on paper into forty separate projects.

At the end of September, Roosevelt went on a trip which took him across the country and then, again aboard the cruiser *Houston,* to Cocos Island and back through the Panama Canal. On this trip he took along both Ickes and Hopkins, to compel the quarrelsome boys to learn to fish and to love each other.

In the ship's paper, *The Blue Bonnet,* during this cruise, appeared the following news item under the heading "Buried at ":

> The feud between Hopkins and Ickes was given a decent burial today. With flags at half mast . . . the President officiated at the solemn ceremony which we trust will take these two babies off the front page for all time.
>
> Hopkins, as usual, was dressed in his immaculate blues, browns and whites, his fine figure making a pretty sight with the moon-drifted sea in the foreground.
>
> Ickes wore his conventional faded grays, Mona Lisa smile and carried his stamp collection. . . .
>
> Hopkins expressed regret at the unkind things Ickes had said about him and Ickes on his part promised to make it stronger—only more so—as soon as he could get a stenographer who would take it down hot.
>
> The President gave them a hearty slap [illegible] back—pushing them both into the sea. "Full steam ahead," th[illegible] ordere[illegible]

Of course, that particular bit o[illegible] [illegible]ld have been written by no one but t[illegible] vides pretty [illegible] [illegible]idence of the prevailed in [illegible] entourag[illegible]

atmosphere of the Elks' Club rather than of a potential Berchtesgaden or Kremlin.

During this gay cruise, on a ship that was to go to its death in the Java Sea six years later, Roosevelt received news of Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, the beginning of the series of European Fascist aggressions. Hopkins noted:

> No luck at fishing tho it was a gorgeous day I think we were out too far for the rest of the party did fairly well Back at six
>
> This evening cocktails as usual—Pa Watson doing the honors with what appeared to be powerful Martinis The President was irritated because the State Department wanted to hold up his Neutrality proclamation and during dinner wrote the note at the table instructing its release at once The Department had wanted to await the League's action but F.D R would have none of it He wanted to act first "They are dropping bombs on Ethiopia—and that is war Why wait for Mussolini to say so ' The President said that world sympathy was clearly with Ethiopia His certainly are He scanned the news dispatches and everything favorable to Ethiopia brought a loud ' Good " He went over the large war maps with great care—places every important town—the railroads and the mountains and rivers To bed early.

On returning to Washington, Hopkins wrote to his brother Lewis.

> I am just back from the trip and am in no mood to do any work I am terribly sorry that the trip out west did not materialize, but the President at the last moment asked me to go with him, and, of course, there was nothing to do but go I had a perfectly grand time, saw a part of the country that I had never visited before, and am really rested
>
> If it would please you any to know it, this letter will also advise you that we are going to get our full quota of men to work sometime in November It has been a tough job loaded down with government red tape of an almost unbelievable variety They have tied pink ribbons on everything but the telephone poles and may have to do that yet!
>
> The President got a great reception everywhere he went and unless the Republicans can trot out somebody better than any I have seen suggested, I think there is no question but that he will be re-elected For my own part, however, I have no desire to remain in Government service forever Don't be surprised if you hear of my getting out sometime before another year is out

Just what he meant by this last hint, I do not know. His political activities were constantly increasing and they were not those of a man who still considered himself a transient in government. However, he was also suffering more and more ill health; he had developed a duodenal ulcer which resulted in the imposition for awhile of rigid diet and total abstinence and he probably had despairing moods. He was certainly becoming less tolerant of the mounting attacks against W.P.A. and himself personally and the wisecracks with which he retaliated were sharp and well aimed but not always politic. Hopkins lacked the gift for picturesque invective possessed by Harold Ickes and General Hugh Johnson. He had neither the ability nor the inclination to find gaudy words to express his meaning. He was addicted to the naked insult. Hugh Johnson once wrote of him that "he has a mind like a razor, a tongue like a skinning knife, a temper like a Tartar and a sufficient vocabulary of parlor profanity—words [illegible] enough to get by the censor but acid enough to make a [illegible]le-skinner jealous. . . . He's just a high-minded Holy Roller [illegible] semi-religious frenzy." One of the many States' Governors [illegible] whom Hopkins directed his skinning knife was Alfred M. Landon of Kansas; when a reporter mentioned that Landon had balanced the State budget, Hopkins said, "Oh, yeah—and he is taking it out of the hides of the people!" This remark was given wide circulation and undoubtedly was of some help to Landon in winning the Republican nomination for President in 1936, a development which proved to be no misfortune for Roosevelt.

That year of 1936 was one in which an inestimable amount of breath was expended and conservative blood pressure raised —and all of it, as it turned out, added up to the winning of eight electoral votes. Seldom has there been more political passion to less avail. An organization known as the Liberty League was formed to mobilize a popular crusade against the New Deal, but this League assumed the aspect of a veritable caricature of capitalism at its most reactionary. Its principal spokesman, sadly enough, was the embittered Alfred E. Smith, who had been Hopkins' (and Roosevelt's) hero in liberal politics. A Talburt cartoon of the time showed how the "Topeka Tornado" (Landon

had blown Al Smith, Herbert Hoover and William Randolph Hearst into the same stewpan.

The forces of reaction were making desperate attempts to re-form their lines behind the respectable but unexciting Landon and their principal hope was to identify the New Deal with Moscow in the public mind The epithets "Communist" and "Bolshevik" were hurled at the Roosevelt Administration and most of all at Hopkins, who was granted the dubious satisfaction of seeing himself and his work program become a violent issue in the campaign The Washington correspondent of the *Daily Oklahoman* wrote

> Not a man in the United States Government just now is salty Harry Hopkins, czar of all he surveys in the relief world and confidante of President Roosevelt
>
> Although he holds no cabinet post despite the fact that his job is "temporary and not overlooking the classification of his department as "emergency —the scrappy Hopkins holds more power in his hands than almost any other man beside the President

In a Senate debate over a new $1½ billion appropriation for work relief, Senator Dickinson, a Republican of Hopkins' native state of Iowa, exploded

> If Congress passes this bill giving Hopkins this huge amount, we will be raising an American Caesar in our midst This bill is simply a starter for Hopkins He has his eye on the presidency This is a laudable ambition, but I am against his using the taxpayers money to build a political machine The use of public money in politics is a national scandal

The *Chicago Tribune* used a masthead and published a lead editorial which Hopkins had enlarged and framed Under the bold faced heading, "Turn the Rascals Out, it said

> Mr Hopkins is a bull headed man whose high place in the New Deal was won by his ability to waste more money in quicker time on more absurd undertakings than any other mischievous wit in Washington could think of

In the *Akron Times Press* and many other newspapers throughout the country appeared a political advertisement featuring a photograph of an anonymous "W.P.A. worker," who

bore a striking resemblance to one of those advertising photographer's models who appear over and over again as genial railroad engineers (proudly displaying their split-second accuracy watches) or as genial foremen (pointing to man hours saved). The heading of this "statement" by a "W.P.A. worker" was, "IF YOU KNEW WHAT I KNOW ABOUT WPA! YOU'D VOTE REPUBLICAN TOO!" And it continued:

> I had to register democratic, and get my friends and relations to register democratic. On top of that, we have to subscribe to a New Deal political paper, and kick in every time someone wants to sell a ticket to a political shindig. And we do it *or else*. . . . The whole trouble is with the bosses put in by the New Deal, not one in a hundred knows what he is doing *or why*. But you can't blame them. They weren't put on the job to lay sewers or fix highways. Their real trade is politics, and believe me, they work it all the time.

The Detroit priest, Father Charles E. Coughlin, who was later to become one of the arch isolationists, denounced Roosevelt as "scab President" leading "a great scab army."

Various newspapers printed each day the fearsome warning. "Only 27 (or 13, or 3) more days to save the American Way of Life."

Hopkins sent repeated, elaborate instructions to all W.P.A. units informing all workers on the rolls that they were not to be intimidated in any way, shape or manner by politicians, nor compelled to indicate support of any political party or candidate, or to contribute to any campaign funds—and that, on election day, they were to vote as they pleased. These notifications had some pathetically humorous consequences, particularly in the Southern States, when W.P.A. workers who could not afford to pay the poll tax went to the polls and displayed letters from the Honorable Harry L. Hopkins which, they felt, gave them full authority to vote.

Hopkins spent a large part of 1936 on the road, beating the drum for W.P.A. and for Roosevelt. His innumerable speeches were not prepared—so that there were no reading copies—and were considered insufficiently important to be reported at length in the oratory-crowded press. But at one of them, in Los Angeles, a transcript was made by stenographers from the local W.P.A.

Chicago Daily Tribune
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

FRIDAY, APRIL 17, 1936.

THE TRIBUNE'S PLATFORM FOR 1936

Turn the Rascals Out.

Only 201 days remain in which to save your country.
What are you doing to save it?

HUMAN NEEDS AND WASHINGTON POLITICIANS.

Mr. Hopkins is a bullheaded man whose high place in the New Deal was won by his ability to waste more money in quicker time on more absurd undertakings than any other mischievous wit in Washington could think of. The scandal of the political manipulation of funds under his control is growing and to it may be added the scandal of the uncared for destitute.

office then under the direction of Colonel Donald H. Connolly of the Army engineers. Hopkins started off with one of those jokes that are calculated to get an audience into a warmly amiable mood:

> I gained six pounds this summer and am looking pretty well after all the things people have called me, and the reason is I don't worry any more. A fellow told me the story about the eighteen-year-old girl that had her first date. Her father sent for her and told her there were certain things she should know. "This young fellow is very apt to hold your hand, and daughter, that is all right. Then he will want to put his arm around you, and that is all right. Then he will want you to put your head on his shoulder—you must not do that because your mother will worry." So the young girl went out and the next morning her father asked her how the evening had gone. She replied, "Well, Dad, everything happened just as you said it would, he held my hand, then he put his arm around me, then he wanted me to put my head on his shoulder, but I said, 'Hell, no!—you put your head on my shoulder and let your mother worry.'" ...
>
> I am getting sick and tired of these people on the W.P.A. and local relief rolls being called chiselers and cheats. It doesn't do any good to call these people names, because they are just like the rest of us. They don't drink any more than the rest of us, they don't lie any more, they're no lazier than the rest of us—they're pretty much a cross section of the American people. ...
>
> I want to finish by saying two things. I have never liked poverty. I have never believed that with our capitalistic system people have to be poor. I think it is an outrage that we should permit hundreds and hundred of thousands of people to be ill clad, to live in miserable homes, not to have enough to eat; not to be able to send their children to school for the only reason that they are poor. I don't believe ever again in America are we going to permit the things to happen that have happened in the past to people. We are never going back again, in my opinion, to the days of putting the old people in the alms houses, when a decent dignified pension at home will keep them there. We are coming to the day when we are going to have decent houses for the poor, when there is genuine and real security for everybody. I have gone all over the moral hurdles that people are poor because they are bad. I don't believe it. A system of government on that basis is fallacious. I think further than that, that this economic system of ours is an ideal instrument to increase this national income of ours, not back to 80 billion where it was, but up to 100 billion or 120 billion. The capitalistic system lends itself to providing a national income that will give real security for all.

had heard it were advising Jim Farley that the same speech should be repeated all over the country. It is evident that Farley was not greatly impressed by these reports for, in the final stages of the campaign, Hopkins was not encouraged to make speeches; in fact, he was muzzled. Farley himself was a target for criticism at this time—the word "Farleyism" being used by the Republicans to suggest the corruption of political machines. Thus, Farley and Hopkins were linked together in editorials and cartoons as twin conspirators in the heinous plot to "buy" Roosevelt's re-election with relief funds. Of course, Farley was no New Dealer at heart and eventually gained the same degree of respectability as Al Smith in conservative circles. It was therefore particularly galling to him to be confused in any way with Hopkins whom he considered a radical and who, he was convinced, was a major political embarrassment to the President.

Hopkins made a savage reply on the radio to Landon's charges against the Relief Program. He said that Roosevelt's Administration had given the country "peace and rapid recovery" instead of "riots and tear gas," the latter a crack at the Hoover Administration He said the W.P.A. workers should be given a "vote of thanks" by the nation "instead of being lambasted and caricatured as a bunch of slow-motion leaf rakers."

Shortly thereafter, he was condemned to silence and he suffered mutely during the last weeks before election as the attacks against him personally and the Relief Program in general increased steadily in sound and in fury.

At this time, Hopkins' one and only book, *Spending to Save,* was published. It appears to have been largely the work of ghost writers. Although the reviews of it in the press were, naturally, somewhat colored by the political bias of each paper, they seem to have been in the main fair and calculated to help the book's sale. For example, Lewis Gannett said, in the Republican *New York Herald Tribune,* "The Works Progress Administrator tells his story proudly. I think he has a right to his passion and his pride." The pro-Landon *Kansas City Times* said, "The chapters on the work of the relief administration are important in revealing the imagination and the vast efforts that went into the

various forms of relief. In many respects, it is an inspiring record." But, the *Times* added, "There is no admission of mistakes—and mistakes are inevitable in such a huge enterprise; no reply to the charges of political administration." However, the comments on his literary output were of scant interest to Hopkins He wanted to get out and talk—and shout—and that he was not permitted to do It seems ridiculous that anyone as well informed as Hopkins was about sentiment throughout the country should have believed for an instant that Landon had a chance to win. But people in Washington are bound to become jittery as the day of solemn verdict approaches, for then they are judged and there is no hope of appeal. Hopkins was particularly sensitive because this was his first experience as an issue in [illegible]

had actually been not guilty

In its poll of public opinion, the *Literary Digest* announced that Landon would win the election easily, carrying 32 States with 370 electoral votes, while Roosevelt would carry only 16 States with 161 electoral votes The *Literary Digest*, it may be remembered, had never previously been wrong in predicting the outcome of a national election The Gallup and the Roper Polls, then relatively unknown quantities, disagreed violently with their well-established competitor, Gallup gave Roosevelt a minimum of 315 and a maximum of even "more than the 472 he polled in 1932", Roper figured the percentages Roosevelt—61 7, Landon—38 3 The final score of 523 for Roosevelt and 8 for Landon marked the end of the *Literary Digest* and the start of successful careers for Gallup and Roper

Election night Hopkins and his wife, together with Dorothy Thompson, Mrs Howard Wilson (Miss Thompson's sister), and Lawrence Westbrook were in the Iridium Room of the Hotel St. Regis as the returns were coming in Miss Thompson, who was then a columnist on the *Herald Tribune*, was wearing a Landon sunflower So was practically everybody else in the

Westbrook has told me that after Miss Thompson sat down, she "publicly cast off her sunflower—*forever*." In 1940, she supported Roosevelt against her old friend, Wendell Willkie, and in 1944 she gave a speech for Roosevelt against Dewey which many people consider one of the most powerful and effective [illegible] the radio.

[illegible] Washington. On the [illegible] " Watson was Helen Essary, who reported in the *Washington Times* that he said, among other things: "What a day this is! What a day! I tell you I'm the happiest man in the world I was supposed to be the millstone around the President's neck Am I rejoicing? Am I!" But, in this expansive moment, he was far from ready to forgive and forget, to let bygones be bygones During the next three years, he had one purpose in mind. to make the New Deal permanent —and he believed that he was the chosen instrument for the accomplishment of this mission He continued to pursue that objective until the world's and his own grave illness compelled him to change

During the winter of 1936-37, there were many rumors about Washington that he was going to leave the government service and accept one of several "attractive offers' from private industry. It is quite probable that there were some industrialists who would have paid Hopkins plenty to get him out of the government, but he denied the reports as "cockeyed ' More reasonable sounding was the persistent report that the President planned to establish a new Cabinet post—a Secretary of Public Welfare, or something like that—and give the job to Hopkins

On January 15, 1937, while Roosevelt was preparing his Second Inaugural Address—'I see one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished"—two thousand marchers, marshaled by the Workers' Alliance of America, circled the White House, chanting, "We don't want promises, we want jobs . . President Roosevelt, keep your promises President Roosevelt, we've just begun to fight Give the bankers home relief, we want jobs'" But the protests and rumors were washed away by another of the natural calamities which were sent periodically to test and strengthen the New Deal The great waters rose in

the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi and overflowed their banks. A vast program of emergency relief and rehabilitation had to be organized and put into effect within a few days. Less than two weeks after the floods started, Hugh S. Johnson wrote, in his column: "Never in our history have one-tenth so many people been affected by a great disaster and certainly never before have affected people been so skilfully relieved." He gave the credit for this to General Malin Craig, Chief of Staff, General Edward Markham, Chief of the Engineer Corps, Admiral Cary T. Grayson, of the Red Cross, and Harry Hopkins, whom he described as "a doer of good deeds, executor of orders, go-getter, Santa Claus incomparable, and privy-builder without peer, but . . . not so hot as a reorienter of economic universes."

Largely as a result of the shock occasioned by the floods, the Congress appropriated nearly a billion dollars for relief during the next five months; and there were no more protest marchers around the White House for a long time. However, as the waters receded, Roosevelt provided another spectacular front-page story, and this without any aid whatsoever from Divine Providence. On February 5, he presented to the Congress a "Plan for the Reorganization of the Judicial Branch of the Government," which came instantly to be known as the "Supreme Court Packing Scheme." This was the most startling—and, to many, the most alarming—development of Roosevelt's adventurous Administration, and it was the first major battle that he lost. Evidently Hopkins knew nothing about this sudden move, and had no part in preparing it—he was away from Washington on a flood survey trip during the week preceding the Message—but as soon as it became a hot controversial issue (as it did, almost immediately) he was called upon to defend it over the radio. In his broadcast on March 1, Hopkins said:

> It is a plain fact at the present time that unless the complexion of the Supreme Court can be changed, two or three elderly judges living in cloistered seclusion and thinking in terms of a bygone day can block nearly all the efforts of a popularly elected President and a popularly elected Congress to correct these ills. . . . Those who oppose this plan are not afraid *for* democracy. They are afraid *of* democracy.

However, Hopkins' defense of the Supreme Court plan was made merely in the line of duty and of unquestioning loyalty. Two years later, on a visit to Warm Springs, he wrote a memorandum in longhand, describing a conversation he had with Thomas J. Corcoran in which he learned of the background of the Supreme Court fight. Hopkins quoted Corcoran as saying that, after his famous "Horse and buggy" press conference, the President was thoroughly aroused "and determined to prevent" the Court from blocking what he believed to be the very fundamentals of our democracy The Court, in his opinion, was "prejudiced and delivering opinions based on their outmoded political philosophies" Hopkins continued his quotation of Corcoran:

> Cummings [Homer S Cummings, then Attorney General] discovered that McReynolds, our bitterest opponent on the Court, had while Attorney General in the Wilson Administration proposed a scheme to provide substitutes for judges who were disabled Cummings brought this to the White House—received the President's approval and was told to work very confidentially with Richberg on a message to Congress Cummings prepared the first draft—but Richberg added the venom No one saw the draft or the rewriting so far as I know but Cummings—Richberg and Sam Rosenman The latter acquainted me with some of the statements which I was sure were wrong—notably the one about the crowding of the Court calendar—I tried to see the President to caution him but Rosenman said the President was determined to send the message at once I did get in to see him the morning the message went to the hill—I urged him to tell Brandeis in advance, hoping to soften the blow on him—the President told me to see him at once—I crashed the sacred robing room—he walked with me in the hall while the balance of the Court filed by—not knowing of the bombshell that was awaiting them Brandeis asked me to thank the President for letting him know but said he was unalterably opposed to the President's action and that he was making a great mistake.
>
> The fight in the Senate was bungled from the beginning—the message itself was weak—we had no adequate line of communication with the leaders—the President's messengers were incompetent and perhaps disloyal I tried to keep Senator Wheeler in line but he hated Cummings and walked out on us We missed a compromise when that could have been accomplished—Cummings and Richberg were advising the President to stand pat altho neither of them had an

fluence in the Senate and in fact completely misjudged the sentiment of that body. Cummings went for a holiday right in the middle of the fight. I don't believe we would have won the compromise even tho Joe Robinson had lived. A grand idea was lost by . . . bad political strategy.

To which Hopkins added a footnote:

Neither Tommy Corcoran or Ben Cohen had anything much to do with the Court fight. Tommy believed the Court should have simply been enlarged by three members. Once the President moved Tommy and Ben did what they could but Cummings and Richberg were jealous of all other legal advice and kept Tommy at arm's length.

In the spring of 1937, in the rancorous atmosphere produced by the Court fight, Hopkins went before the Congress with a request for another appropriation. He received a slap from the House of Representatives, which inserted a clause in the Bill cutting his salary from twelve to ten thousand dollars a year. The *Baltimore Sun* commented on this:

It was a remarkable outburst in the House yesterday that cut Harry Hopkins' salary from $12,000 to $10,000. This was pure spite, for what is a saving of $2,000 a year in a job like that?

But while the business has no monetary significance, it is highly significant as revealing the emotional state of members. They must hate Hopkins with a frantic hatred when they are driven to do as childish a thing as cutting $2,000 off his salary to express their anger and resentment.

No member voiced on the floor the real reason for this feeling toward Hopkins, but there is no mystery about it. They hate Hopkins because they are afraid of him; and they are afraid of him because they think he is capable of building up an organization in their individual districts to fight them, if they do not vote according to his orders.

There is a widespread belief among members that Hopkins is a vindictive man. Whether this is true or false makes little difference; for as long as members believe it they will act on the belief. Unquestionably this feeling had something to do with the "ear-marking" that turned the relief bill into a pork-barrel, and it is likely to influence legislation in many ways. It is one factor that must be kept in mind by anyone who hopes to understand the course of the House during

Less objective in comment on this salary slash was columnist Franklyn Waltman of the *Washington Post*. He said

> Nothing that has happened around here in a long time has given us so much pleasure . . . it was a pleasant sight to see someone slap the smartalecky Harry Hopkins down.

In 1937, a vote hostile to Hopkins in the Congress could have been achieved only by a coalition of the minority Republicans with the conservative (mostly Southern) Democrats. The opposition of the latter to him was, of course, based on his espousal of the minimum wage It was also based on the fear that he might be a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1940. That was a possibility which was beginning to receive considerable attention in the press General Johnson wrote

> Harry Hopkins who, up to recently, was just a loyal, modest and highly efficient go getter, is changing in several respects In the first place, he has become No 1 boy in the inner circle of the New Deal economists . . . In the second, his personal staff of adulating waterboys has filled his head with the ineffable nonsense that he has political possibilities—heir apparent No 42

But the *Aberdeen* (South Dakota) *News* was not so sure that this was "ineffable nonsense" It said, editorially, that Hopkins

> undoubtedly is closer to Roosevelt than any of his Cabinet members or unofficial advisers Hopkins is the only prominent New Dealer who came to Washington in 1933 who has done a good enough job of his difficult assignment to keep from embarrassing his superior . . . Who then, at this early stage, has any better right for consideration as a [Presidential] candidate than Mr Roosevelt's right hand man—Harry Hopkins?

His own home-town paper, the *Sioux City Journal*—for which his father, Al Hopkins, had worked—viewed his candidacy with restrained local pride·

> Mr. Hopkins' first qualification for the job is the fact that he is extremely liberal, even charitable He can hand out money from the United States Treasury in a way to gladden the hearts of voters in city, in town, in country He is most generous, having given away billions already and being willing to dispense more billions as the need arises

In the December, 1937, issue of *Forum* magazine there appeared an article on Hopkins by Raymond Clapper, one of the ablest and fairest American columnists, who was killed in action at Eniwetok in the Pacific in 1944. Clapper wrote, "Some of his friends have talked of him as a presidential possibility. Mr. Hopkins is too realistic about himself to take this seriously." For once, Raymond Clapper was wrong—or maybe not wrong, merely friendly. Hopkins did take himself seriously as a candidate at that time, and one of the last requests that he made before his death was that, if anything should be written about him, there should be no attempt to disguise the fact that he once had ambitions for the highest office and that he worked and schemed to further them.

It is impossible to tell whether his ambitions were impelled primarily by the normal politician's hunger for power and glory or by a natural desire for revenge. My guess is that the latter goad was the stronger. Although he liked to picture himself as thick skinned and impervious, he was actually extremely sensitive. His pride had been hurt by the frequent statements that he was a liability to Roosevelt, but of far more importance in his will to hit back was the injury done to his idealistic, Iowan concept of the purity of the democratic process. Some men, when confronted with the discovery that various Congressmen were more interested in feeding themselves out of the pork barrel than in feeding the hungry people, would have elected to quit in disgust, and some did just that. But Hopkins did the opposite: he developed the fierce determination to possess himself of the Big Stick with which to smite the venal politicians hip and thigh.

I cannot pretend to know just when Roosevelt first considered Hopkins as a possible successor, but it is quite clear that after 1936 he began to toy with the idea, to say the very least. (To say the very most, the President eventually acted as an unofficial but extremely competent campaign manager for Hopkins.)

The summer of 1937 produced a tragic interruption in Hopkins' career and almost put an end to it. He knew that his wife was dying of cancer and he suspected that he too was suffering from this disease which had killed his father He took Mrs.

Hopkins to Saratoga Springs for a final holiday. They were entertained there by the Swopes and other friends and each pretended to the other that it was all very carefree and gay; but awareness of death was in both of them. A few weeks later Mrs. Hopkins died, and a few weeks after that Hopkins went to the Mayo Clinic where a large part of his stomach was removed. The analysis showed that he did have cancer It never recurred, but the operation produced nutritional maladjustments which made him prey to various weird diseases that afflicted him over and over again during the following years and ultimately proved fatal.

After the death of Barbara Hopkins, and before Hopkins himself caved in and went to the Mayo Clinic, he had a telephone call from his implacable antagonist, Harold Ickes, who had lost his own wife by death two years previously Ickes told Hopkins that he was alone at his farm in Maryland and invited him to come out and stay for awhile if he wanted to get away from Washington and from all associations which involved harrowing memories Hopkins accepted this invitation—and this was one isolated occasion when the feud was suspended. Describing this to me, Ickes said, with a sort of reluctant wistfulness, "Harry was an agreeable scoundrel, when he wanted to be"

Hopkins left the Mayo Clinic about New Year's, 1938, and went to Florida to stay at the house of Joseph P Kennedy. The President then wrote him

> Missy has told me that you telephoned on Saturday night I am [illegible]
>
> However, it is, of course, grand news
>
> Joe Kennedy's sounds like an ideal spot for peace and quiet and recuperation
>
> We all had great fun with Diana at Christmas time She is a lovely youngster and stole the show that day As you know, of course, she is now at Jimmy's "political" farm in Massachusetts where [illegible] and Bets say they are all having a grand time

The figurehead picture is bully and I am really awfully glad to have it. Thank you ever so much.

Do keep us in touch with where you are and how you are, and take good care of yourself.

While in Florida, Hopkins was able to do some work with Aubrey Williams and Corrington Gill and was accused of politicking in connection with the primary campaign of Senator Claude E. Pepper. He returned to Washington in April after an absence of some six months and was invited to spend ten days in the White House, where his daughter, Diana, had been living since her mother died. Roosevelt took over the supervision of Hopkins' health and attempted to control his habits. He started to build him up in more ways than one. If Hopkins had not previously been told that he was Roosevelt's candidate for 1940, he was unquestionably told so now. There are notes of an extraordinary private conversation in the spring of 1938.

Roosevelt started off on the subject of the Supreme Court. He said that it had been the custom each year when the Court convened, early in October, for the secretary to the Chief Justice (then Charles Evans Hughes) to telephone the White House ıd announce that the Court is in session, whereupon the Presi-ent would send a message inviting the Justices to call upon him. When they arrived, he would greet them in the Blue Room, whence they all proceeded into the Red Room where the President and Chief Justice would sit on a couch and take turns conducting the general conversation. Always on these occasions, Roosevelt said, Justice McReynolds would tell a story about the hot temper of Woodrow Wilson and of the mistakes in his Mexican policy.

Roosevelt said that in October, 1936, he was away campaigning but returned to Washington to be present for the annual Supreme Court visit. He knew the Court convened on Monday; he read it in the newspapers; but there was no telephone call to the White House. After waiting three days, he had Marvin McIntyre get in touch with Justice Stone's secretary to find out what was going on. McIntyre was informed that "There will be no visit to the White House this year." This was interpreted as a deliberate snub. "And remember," said Roosevelt to Hopkins,

"this was six months before the Court fight started." (It was, however, more than a year after Roosevelt had started to assail the "Nine Old Men" for thinking in terms of the horse and buggy era.)

Roosevelt then discussed his next appointment to the Supreme Court in the event that Justice Brandeis resigned. An obvious selection would be Felix Frankfurter, to whom the President said he was both friendly and grateful, but the need was for a man from west of the Mississippi since that entire area was then unrepresented on the Court. (As it turned out, Frankfurter was appointed.) After which, the conversation settled down to the subject in which Hopkins was most interested the identity of the Democratic nominee in 1940.

I gather from Hopkins' notes that Roosevelt did not entirely rule out the possibility that he might seek a third term. He seems to have left a very slight margin of doubt about it in the event of war But he spoke of his own "personal disinclination" and the strong opposition of Mrs Roosevelt to a third term He told Hopkins that there were financial reasons for his wish to return to private life—that his mother was digging into capital to keep the place at Hyde Park going (I cannot decipher the financial figures that Hopkins jotted down in this connection.)

Coming down to individuals, Roosevelt stated his opposition to these men as candidates Cordell Hull, Henry Wallace, Harold Ickes, Paul McNutt, Frank Murphy (then Governor of Michigan) and George Earle (then Governor of Pennsylvania) The only apparent reasons noted were that Ickes was too combative and Hull too old There were also some comments on Hull's direction of the State Department but the notes are not clear as to just what Roosevelt said

Roosevelt mentioned Robert M La Follette The note on this was "fine—later—Secretary of State soon"—which is particularly interesting in view of the fact that La Follette subsequently became identified with the extreme isolationist group and therefore [illegible]

There appea[illegible]
than of any of [illegible]

most dangerous" of the candidates. He knew that Farley was actively campaigning for the nomination, that he might run that year for Governor of New York State and, if he won, he might well be nominated and elected President in 1940. Roosevelt was against Farley on two main counts: his opposition to the New Deal and his attitude toward foreign affairs.

Then the President came to Hopkins himself, dwelling first on the liabilities. There was the circumstance of his divorce, but Grover Cleveland had survived a much more damaging scandal on his record and the second Hopkins marriage, tragically ended, had been a conspicuously happy one. On the question of Hopkins' health, Roosevelt was aware that the Mayo Clinic doctors had said the odds were two to one against a recurrence of cancer, but he also was aware that the Presidency is a killing job and that Hopkins had better get himself completely recovered by 1940. He recalled that he himself would have been able to shed the brace from his left leg if he had not been persuaded by Al Smith to leave his cure and return prematurely to public life in 1928.

Having considered these liabilities, Roosevelt expressed the lief that Hopkins would be elected and would do the best job President of any of those then in the running. He then discussed strategy, saying that he would appoint Hopkins Secretary of Commerce and Louis Johnson Secretary of War. He felt that Hopkins should "keep back a little," stating that although his own aspirations for the 1932 nomination had started in 1930, he had not begun to work actively for it until the autumn of 1931.

This conversation ended, Hopkins notes, with an expression by Roosevelt of "assurances and hopes."

Some months after this conversation Jim Farley wrote in a private memorandum that "Roosevelt is a very strong character, and he might insist on naming his successor." It seems strange that, knowing Roosevelt, Farley should have used the word "might." It was Farley's guess that the President favored "Harry Hopkins, Robert Jackson or Frank Murphy in the order named." Farley listed as his own selections, John Nance Garner (then Vice President), Hull and Farley—also "in the order named."

In the Hopkins notes on his intensely confidential talk with Roosevelt there is no mention of either Jackson or Garner; in the case of the latter, it seems evident that the President had ruled him out as a possibility long before.

Hopkins told a few friends, all under oaths of strictest secrecy, that Roosevelt had definitely given him the green light and the campaign was on

Bernard M Baruch advised Hopkins that he should go into the Cabinet as Secretary of War rather than Commerce. Baruch, acutely conscious of the storm warnings heard from abroad in that year of the Sino-Japanese War, the Spanish Civil War, the Anschluss and Munich, believed that the War Department was to become the most important of all agencies and that Hopkins, at the head of it, would have immeasurable opportunities to gain distinction I do not know whether Hopkins was given any choice in the matter, some of his friends believe that he was, but the only notes I have seen suggest otherwise It is probable that Roosevelt himself believed that Hopkins would be better off in the Commerce Department as it would help him to establish some respectability for himself among the more conservative elements, and *particularly the business community*, where he needed it most

Actually, the inclusion of Hopkins in the regular Cabinet seemed to be no promotion whatsoever As Relief Administrator he received far more publicity than did Daniel C. Roper, then Secretary of Commerce, and had far more contact with masses of voters But, too much prominence at this time might be detrimental There was a Congressional election coming up in 1938 and it seemed possible that, in view of the Supreme Court fight and the unpopular purge attempt, the Administration might suffer serious reverses at the polls A hostile Congress—even with the Democrats still in control—would be bound to concentrate its fire on W P A. and on Hopkins personally. Ammunition had been provided by a series of articles in the Scripps-Howard papers by Thomas L. Stokes "exposing" the political activities of W.P.A in behalf of Senator Alben W. Barkley in Kentucky. Stokes later won the Pulitzer Prize for this series. There were a great many Senators and Repre-

most dangerous" of the candidates. He knew that Farley was actively campaigning for the nomination, that he might run that year for Governor of New York State and, if he won, he might well be nominated and elected President in 1940. Roosevelt was against Farley on two main counts: his opposition to the New Deal and his attitude toward foreign affairs.

Then the President came to Hopkins himself, dwelling first on the liabilities. There was the circumstance of his divorce, but Grover Cleveland had survived a much more damaging scandal on his record and the second Hopkins marriage, tragically ended, had been a conspicuously happy one. On the question of Hopkins' health, Roosevelt was aware that the Mayo Clinic doctors had said the odds were two to one against a recurrence of cancer, but he also was aware that the Presidency is a killing job and that Hopkins had better get himself completely recovered by 1940. He recalled that he himself would have been able to shed the brace from his left leg if he had not been persuaded by Al Smith to leave his cure and return prematurely to public life in 1928.

Having considered these liabilities, Roosevelt expressed the belief that Hopkins would be elected and would do the best job as President of any of those then in the running. He then discussed strategy, saying that he would appoint Hopkins Secretary of Commerce and Louis Johnson Secretary of War. He felt that Hopkins should "keep back a little," stating that although his own aspirations for the 1932 nomination had started in 1930, he had not begun to work actively for it until the autumn of 1931.

This conversation ended, Hopkins notes, with an expression by Roosevelt of "assurances and hopes."

Some months after this conversation Jim Farley wrote in a private memorandum that "Roosevelt is a very strong character, and he might insist on naming his successor." It seems strange that, knowing Roosevelt, Farley should have used the word "might." It was Farley's guess that the President favored "Harry Hopkins, Robert Jackson or Frank Murphy in the order named." Farley listed as his own selections, John Nance Garner (then Vice President), Hull and Farley—also "in the order named."

sentatives who piously approved the Stokes articles, as slams at the hated Harry Hopkins, and who secretly thanked heaven that this investigation had been conducted in Kentucky and not in their own States. I can say with assurance that there were not many members of Congress at that time who had never used W.P.A. in one way or another to shore up their own political fortunes. Just as post-office employees have been used from time immemorial to beat the bushes in behalf of the "right" candidates, so it was inevitable that local politicians all over the country would find ways and means of taking advantage of the vast W.P.A. organization. Hopkins hated these activities but he most certainly knew about them and he made only occasional attempts to stop them, and to that extent he was culpable. Had Hopkins been hauled before a Congressional investigation of W.P.A., he could have done enormous damage to the reputations of many of his inquisitors but, in the process of doing so, he would have ruined himself politically. Thus, it was important to get him out of that particular beam of limelight. But he must not be relegated to dignified obscurity. The "build-up" must go on. A Presidential aspirant like a movie star must keep in the public eye, otherwise people will not recognize his name when they see it on the ballot. That is why Roosevelt never mentioned the name of his opponent in a speech. "There are a great many people who never heard of him," the President would say. "Why should I advertise him?" You may call that cynicism, if you will, or you can call it the plain truth. To one who observed Roosevelt in political action it seemed that he had a better grasp of the fundamental realities and the ultimate finesse of this art, or science or trade, than did all of his enemies and all of his friends put together. Although the astute but limited Jim Farley has promulgated the doctrine —which I am sure he himself believes with all his heart—that he "made" Roosevelt and was rewarded only with base ingratitude, there would seem to be some reason for placing this particular shoe on the other foot. Nor was Farley the only one whose name will be mentioned in the indexes of the history books solely because he managed to hitch his wagon to the ascendant Roosevelt star.

There is no question that in 1938 Roosevelt did all he could —and that was a very great deal—to aid the Hopkins build-up. When the President was photographed at a baseball park or on the back platform of a train, or on a fishing cruise, he had Hopkins at his elbow This was not by accident. There were many people who went along with the President when he appeared in public who did not feature prominently in the news photographs Indeed, it was a matter of discretion as well as courtesy to make oneself inconspicuous when the flashbulbs were popping unless the President distinctly asked one to be with him. It was plain to see that while Hopkins was receiving this preferred treatment other potential candidates were not.

Mrs Roosevelt, who often reflected her husband's views in her column, "My Day," wrote the following significant reference:

> It was good to see Mr Harry Hopkins yesterday and to have him spend the night with us He is one of the few people in the world who gives me the feeling of being entirely absorbed in doing his job well. .. He seems to work because he has an inner conviction that his job needs to be done and that he must do it I think he would be that way about *any job he undertook* He would not undertake it unless he felt that he could really accomplish something which needed to be done [The italics therein are mine]

On September 12, 1938, Hopkins and Howard Hunter were with Roosevelt on his railroad car at Rochester, Minnesota, when the President listened to Adolf Hitler's Nuremberg speech of that date, two weeks before the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. (Roosevelt was in Rochester because his son James was undergoing an operation at the Mayo Clinic) Also listening to that Hitler speech, in Prague itself, was William L Shirer who wrote in his *Berlin Diary* "I have never heard Adolf so full of hate, his audience quite so on the borders of bedlam What poison in his voice " Thereafter Roosevelt, who could understand the German language, among other things, told Hopkins to go out to the Pacific Coast and take a look at the aircraft industry with a view to its expansion for war production

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Hopkins wrote the following note:

sentatives who piously approved the Stokes articles, as slams at the hated Harry Hopkins, and who secretly thanked heaven that this investigation had been conducted in Kentucky and not in their own States. I can say with assurance that there were not many members of Congress at that time who had never used W.P.A. in one way or another to shore up their own political fortunes. Just as post-office employees have been used from time immemorial to beat the bushes in behalf of the "right" candidates, so it was inevitable that local politicians all over the country would find ways and means of taking advantage of the vast W.P.A. organization. Hopkins hated these activities but he most certainly knew about them and he made only occasional attempts to stop them, and to that extent he was culpable. Had Hopkins been hauled before a Congressional investigation of W.P.A., he could have done enormous damage to the reputations of many of his inquisitors but, in the process of doing so, he would have ruined himself politically. Thus, it was important to get him out of that particular beam of limelight. But he must not be relegated to dignified obscurity. The "build-up" must go on. A Presidential aspirant like a movie star must keep in the public eye, otherwise people will not recognize his name when they see it on the ballot. That is why Roosevelt never mentioned the name of his opponent in a speech. "There are a great many people who never heard of him," the President would say. "Why should I advertise him?" You may call that cynicism, if you will, or you can call it the plain truth. To one who observed Roosevelt in political action it seemed that he had a better grasp of the fundamental realities and the ultimate finesse of this art, or science or trade, than did all of his enemies and all of his friends put together. Although the astute but limited Jim Farley has promulgated the doctrine —which I am sure he himself believes with all his heart—that he "made" Roosevelt and was rewarded only with base ingratitude, there would seem to be some reason for placing this particular shoe on the other foot. Nor was Farley the only one whose name will be mentioned in the indexes of the history books solely because he managed to hitch his wagon to the ascendant Roosevelt star.

There is no question that in 1938 Roosevelt did all he could—and that was a very great deal—to aid the Hopkins build-up. When the President was photographed at a baseball park or on the back platform of a train, or on a fishing cruise, he had Hopkins at his elbow. This was not by accident. There were many people who went along with the President when he appeared in public who did not feature prominently in the news photographs Indeed, it was a matter of discretion as well as courtesy to make oneself inconspicuous when the flashbulbs were popping unless the President distinctly asked one to be with him. It was plain to see that while Hopkins was receiving thus preferred treatment other potential candidates were not

Mrs Roosevelt, who often reflected her husband's views in her column, "My Day," wrote the following significant reference:

> It was good to see Mr Harry Hopkins yesterday and to have him spend the night with us He is one of the few people in the world who gives me the feeling of being entirely absorbed in doing his job well . . He seems to work because he has an inner conviction that his job needs to be done and that he must do it I think he would be that way about *any job he undertook* He would not undertake it unless he felt that he could really accomplish something which needed to be done [The italics therein are mine]

On September 12, 1938, Hopkins and Howard Hunter were with Roosevelt on his railroad car at Rochester, Minnesota, when the President listened to Adolf Hitler's Nuremberg speech of that date, two weeks before the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. (Roosevelt was in Rochester because his son James was undergoing an operation at the Mayo Clinic) Also listening to that Hitler speech, in Prague itself, was William L Shirer who wrote *in his Berlin Diary*. "I have never heard Adolf so full of hate, his audience quite so on the borders of bedlam What

[illegible]

[illegible] with a view to *its* expansion for war production.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Hopkins wrote the following note.

This letter which Colonel Wilson gave me was the result of a secr survey I made in 1938 for the President on the capacity of airpla factories to build military airplanes.

The President was sure then that we were going to get into war a he believed that air power would win it.

About this time the President made his startling statement th we should have 8000 planes and everybody in the Army and Na and all the newspapers in the country jumped on him.

The letter referred to by Hopkins was a report that Color Arthur R. Wilson sent to the War Department from the We Coast where he and Colonel Connolly, the local W.P.A. D rector, had been with Hopkins on his visits to airplane factori (Five years later, Wilson was Commander in Casablanca wh the Conference was held there and Connolly was Commanc in the Persian Gulf area at the time of the Teheran Conference Wilson acted as liaison officer between the Army General St and W.P.A. during the prewar years when the armed forc were being starved to death by the pacifist-minded Congress a he was understandably excited when he wrote:

> Mr. Hopkins sang the same tune he did in Washington—*that t* Army and Navy are sitting pretty to get a lot of money in the ne relief bill for the national defense *if* they can sell the idea to t President. . . .
>
> Mr. Hopkins thinks that the War Department should *present* big program which will include the manufacture of modern arm ment, airplanes, perhaps the employment of men in all arsenals they can go at top speed—all this without regard to the present rul of relief labor and material. . . .
>
> The point is that Mr. Hopkins has the ear of the Presiden other man, probably—rates higher than a great many of the C And as we have talked about before, the way, or rather t to the President is through Mr. Hopkins. . . . The Chief of Sta Deputy [should] get an appointment with him . . . This qu not a matter of weeks and general staff studies but a matt action and days.

As a direct result of this, after Hopkins returned ington he was visited by the new Deputy Chief of adier General George C. Marshall; this was the a friendship that was deep and enduring and May, 1945, a few days after the German surre

te Marshall that he was leaving the government and Marshall replied:

> You have literally given of your physical strength during the past few years to a degree that has been, in my opinion, heroic and will not be appreciated except by your intimates.
>
> For myself I wish to tell you this, that you personally have been of invaluable service to me in the discharge of my duties in this war. Time after time you have done for me things I was finding it exceedingly difficult to do for myself and always in matters of the gravest import. You have been utterly selfless as well as courageous and truly objective in your contribution to the war effort.

After he became Secretary of State, Marshall told me that he believed that his appointment as Chief of Staff in 1939 had been primarily due to Harry Hopkins. It was Marshall's impression that Roosevelt did not develop complete confidence in him until after the war had actually started. For three years before *Pearl Harbor*, and for at least a year thereafter, Hopkins was Marshall's principal channel of communication with the White House.

General Wilson has written me of his contacts with Hopkins in 1938:

> I remember well the events leading up to my memorandum as a member of the General Staff when it was evident that a sleepy War Department plus an overzealous attitude on the part of many WPA officials backed by a local, rather than a national minded Congress, was spending millions in useless projects and letting the national defense starve. After several personal talks with Harry Hopkins, who shared my views and was very critical of the lack of plans of the War Department for sharing in the "relief money" (they were going after it with pitchforks when they should have been using shovels) I wrote a memorandum to General Marshall who had just recently been made Deputy Chief of Staff and who was in a mood and in a position to change some of the thinking of the War Department urging that more use be made of relief funds to further the national defense. You may know that after his meeting with Harry Hopkins several millions of dollars of WPA funds were transferred (secretly) to start making machine tools for the manufacture of small arms ammun[illegible]. This was before Hitler declared war in Europe; and this one [illegible] production of small arms ammunition at least a year [illegible] England went into the war and started to place orders in [illegible] for the manufacture of small arms ammunition.

Thus, there was at least one tangible, immediate result of the Wilson memorandum. But the total efforts at rearmament at that time were pitifully small; it is evident from the dismal record of unpreparedness in 1938, 1939 and well into 1940 that neither Roosevelt, Hopkins, Marshall nor anyone else got very far with the plan to rearm a nation which believed that the way to avoid war was to deny by legislative action the possibility of it. The ominous events in Europe and Asia were only serving to make the Congress more isolationist in temper and more truculent in its relationship with the White House. Congress wanted no relief funds spent for armaments. It must be added that Hopkins himself, with his ambition focused on new goals, did little to advance the interests of national security at this time. He was working for the election of a Democratic Congress in November and for the ultimate promotion of his n candidacy. In a speech at Chautauqua, he made further empts to ingratiate himself with the business community:

> I can say from personal knowledge that the Government is not, and never has been opposed to business. It has no desire whatever to harass or punish business. It fully realizes that business must succeed, and must be able to work with Government, if our economic system is to be preserved. It seeks an understanding and a meeting of minds, not only as to present points of conflict but as to methods which will assure for the future, on the one hand, justice and fair dealing to all the people, and on the other, the confidence, success and legitimate profits of legitimate business enterprise.

Those worthy sentiments received far less publicity than did a remark, attributed to Hopkins: "We shall tax and tax, and spend and spend, and elect and elect."

This was published first by Frank R. Kent and then by Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner in their syndicated columns and by Arthur Krock in the *New York Times.* (Alsop and Kintner, be it said, described the quotation as "probably apocryphal.") Hopkins stated categorically that he had said no such thing: "I deny the whole works and the whole implication of it." But the phrase was too juicy to be canceled. It was given national circulation and enjoyed a very long run; indeed, as this

is written, nearly ten years later, it is still quoted by Roosevelt's domestic enemies when their hatred of the New Deal regurgitates. It was the subject of intense investigation when Hopkins appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee. Kent, Alsop, and Krock were called upon to testify. All of them wrapped themselves in the cloak of journalistic immunity and refused to reveal the "source" of this remarkable quotation. Kent, the only one who had actually talked to the "source," did not even appear in person before the Committee, but wrote a letter explaining, "I was first told of the remark in New York by a friend of Mr Hopkins who is also a friend of mine. It was repeated with a good deal of emphasis as part of a conversation that occurred between Mr Hopkins and this mutual friend in August (1938) at one of the New York racetracks This friend is a man of reputation and standing" But, wrote Kent, after the remark had been published and Hopkins had denied it, "I called up the friend who had told me and asked if he would let his name be used to substantiate the truth Somewhat alarmed at the prospect of a controversy, he was much averse to this He gave several personal reasons why it would only embarrass him and asked me not to use his name I told him that if that was the way he felt, of course I would protect him—and I have"

When Krock was on the stand he admitted that he had not interviewed any of the eyewitnesses to the conversation in question, including Hopkins, but said that the phrase "seemed to me a concentrated gem of Mr Hopkins philosophy" The Krock testimony, as set forth in the record of the hearings, provides a fairly good example of the sanctimoniousness with which the American press can seek to justify its occasional abuses of the sacred right of freedom of the press A bit of dialogue

Mr Krock I made what seemed to me serious efforts to discover whether it was a chance remark, in which event I would not have printed it It was a most logical statement, it seemed to me, of what Mr Hopkins might have said

Senator Clark of Missouri Do you not think the balance of credibility would be very strongly on the side of a prominent, responsible officer of the Government, when he comes into a hearing

and makes an explicit, categorical denial, as against an anonymous, clandestine, and mysterious witness, who has not manhood to come forward with a confirmation of the statement which it has been said he made, and which has been printed by you and Mr. Kent?

Mr. Krock. Senator, I think that is a tenable position for you to take.

The "anonymous, clandestine, mysterious witness" in the case was Max Gordon, a successful New York theatrical producer. He met Hopkins at the Empire City Race Track one summer's afternoon. Also present were Heywood Broun and Daniel Arnstein, the transportation specialist who, in 1941 made a prodigious but futile attempt to straighten out traffic on the Burma Road. Both of them reported their versions of the momentous conversation, which was extremely offhand and perhaps somewhat bored on Hopkins' part, and neither recalled that he had made the famous "tax and tax" statement or any other statement worthy of quotation. According to Gordon's recollection of the racetrack conversation, even though Hopkins didn't actually say those precise words, "That's what he meant!"

Thus are the eggs of canards laid. They are happily hatched out by presumably reputable journalists and, when they have taken wing, the denials seldom catch up with them. This particular one created a great deal of trouble for Hopkins and produced considerable wear and tear on his frazzled nervous system, but it did not greatly affect the course of events. It was too late for the elections of 1938 and by 1940 much larger circumstances had supervened. But the unworthy bias which impelled it is of much more enduring importance than the incident itself. (Years later, Krock came to the defense of General Eisenhower who was the intended victim of another canard. Krock wrote that the discussion in which the general made the imputed remarks was "of the private and informal character that important public men should be able to engage in without distortion through 'leaks.'")

Just before the 1938 elections, Hopkins went to Hyde Park

with the President and issued predictions which proved to be grotesquely over-optimistic. For one thing, he predicted that Frank Murphy, running for re-election as Governor of Michigan, would win by half a million votes. The election was close and Murphy lost. Furthermore, the fabulous Democratic "ma-

(mostly Southern) Democrats and Republicans was forming with sufficient strength to serve notice on Roosevelt that Capitol Hill was capable of revolt, the hostility that had been generated was to be a severe handicap to him in his attempts to get increased appropriations for the Army and Navy as war approached. The expected Congressional demands for investigations of the Relief Program were immediately raised The swashbuckling headline hunter Martin Dies, Chairman of the Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, announced that he would ask the new Congress for one million dollars to finance a full-dress investigation of W.P.A. and P.W.A. He stated his determination to rid the government of such subverters as Harry Hopkins, Harold Ickes, Frances Perkins and other "Communists and fellow-travellers."

There were two polls of public opinion on Hopkins taken in December, 1938, just before his appointment as Secretary of Commerce The Gallup question and results as published were.

Hopkins has been mentioned for the post of Secretary of Commerce Would you approve of his appointment?

Yes	—	34%
No	—	66%

These figures were followed by the inconspicuous, parenthetical admission that "Approximately 4 voters in every 10, however, said they had formed no opinion" Thus, the figures for those in favor should have been approximately 20 per cent and those opposed 40 per cent, with 40 per cent saying "Don't know."

Hopkins was ill at ease and somewhat evasive at one poi in the hearings when Vandenberg asked if he had ever regi tered as a member of the Socialist party. Hopkins said he h voted for Wilson in 1916, for Cox in 1920, for La Follet (Progressive) in 1924, for Smith in 1928 and thereafter f Roosevelt. He eventually admitted that he might have register as a Socialist in a New York municipal election many yea before as "I was then profoundly moved by a desire to see r forms in New York City and to see the United States keep o of war." (This last was undoubtedly a shrewdly chosen poi for Vandenberg at the time was a leading isolationist.)

Except for that one bit of uncertainty, Hopkins made excellent showing and impressed the Committee with l downright honesty. At the end of the first day's hearings, Se ator White said to him: "After listening for twenty-one ye to witnesses at Congressional hearings, I am about to award y first place as a witness." Hugh Johnson wrote, "It was Ha Hopkins whom this Committee saw and heard. It was all m—the best and worst of him without any false whiskers luff, pretense, alibi or excuse. It was as his friends have hea him either in 'moments of relaxation' or on some other h spot—able, brilliant, candid, intense, impulsive, in some thin impractical and above all things, personally loyal."

At the same time that Hopkins' appointment was being co sidered, the Senate was also considering Roosevelt's appoi ments of Frank Murphy as Attorney General and Felix Fran furter to the Supreme Court. Both of them got through t Senate more easily than Hopkins, the latter being confirm after three days of hearings and a week of some truculent d bate, by a vote of 58 to 27. Five Democrats voted with t Republicans against him and at least three others deliberat abstained. The next day the *New York Herald Tribune* sa editorially and despondently, "If the President sits unrepenta in the White House, splashing the nation's money . . . deman ing more and higher taxes and displaying not the faintest e dence of any fundamental change of heart or mind or outlo how can the most willing of businessmen see any salvation

the shouting of one repentant sinner in the Commerce Department?"

Hopkins went faithfully to work to prove that the process of transmogrification had really set in His old haunts and cronies knew him not His good friend, Heywood Broun, attempted to give him a helping hand on the road to respectability Broun wrote, "Not by any stretch of the imagination could Hopkins be called a radical. He is not dedicated to revolutionary changes in the political and economic structure of America . . His [illegible]ion to American democracy is complete and uncompromised by any reservations To sum it all up, a strong, able and progressive person comes into the President's official family" This, particularly as coming from Broun, failed to convey much reassurance to the business community, but Hopkins tried hard to make new friends in Chamber of Commerce circles The names that began to appear with increasing frequency in his daily engagement book tell the story Averell Harriman, of the Union P[illegible]

[illegible] General Motors, Clarence Francis, General Foods, William L Batt, S K F, Edward R Stettinius, U. S Steel, M B Folsom, Eastman Kodak, Sidney Weinberg, Goldman, Sachs, Carle C Conway, Continental Can, John D Biggers, Libbey-Owens-Ford, and, of course Bernard B[illegible]

[illegible] and Fred Polangin, in promoting Hopkins as an ascendant statesman It was their purpose to "play up" Hopkins' grass roots background and his experience as a hardheaded, two-fisted executive and to "play down" his career as a social worker, this last being suggestive of starry-eyed idealism if not of sinister radicalism. Their greatest publicity asset was the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce This included many of the men whose names have already been mentioned Some of them—

the shouting of one repentant sinner in the Commerce Department?"

Hopkins went faithfully to work to prove that the process of transmogrification had really set in His old haunts and cronies knew him not. His good friend, Heywood Broun, attempted to give him a helping hand on the road to respectability Broun wrote, "Not by any stretch of the imagination could Hopkins be called a radical He is not dedicated to revolutionary changes in the political and economic structure of America . . . His devotion to American democracy is complete and uncompromised by any reservations To sum it all up, a strong, able and progressive person comes into the President's official family." This, particularly as coming from Broun, failed to convey much reassurance to the business community, but Hopkins tried hard to make new friends in Chamber of Commerce circles. The names that began to appear with increasing frequency in his daily engagement book tell the story Averell Harriman, of the Union Pacific, Howard Coonley, President of the N A M , General Robert E Wood and Donald Nelson, of Sears Roebuck, E A Cudahy, Cudahy Packing Co , Franklin W Hobbs, Arlington Mills, James D Mooney, General Motors Clarence Francis, General Foods, William L Batt, S K F , Edward R Stettinius, U S Steel, M B Folsom, Eastman Kodak Sidney J. Weinberg, Goldman, Sachs, Carle C Conway Continental Can, John D Biggers, Libbey-Owens-Ford, and of course Bernard Baruch and Jesse Jones Significantly one old associate who moved with Hopkins into his new world was David K Niles who had been his chief political adviser and campaign strategist In the Commerce Department Niles was joined by two energetic young men, Victor Sholis and Fred Polangin, in promoting Hopkins as an ascendant statesman It was their purpose to "play up' Hopkins grass roots background and his experience as a hardheaded, two fisted executive and to "play down" his career as a social worker this last being suggestive of starry-eyed idealism if not of sinister radicalism. Their greatest publicity asset was the Business Advisory Council of the Department of Commerce This included many of the whose names have already been mentioned. Some of

notably Harriman, Stettinius and Batt—were close friends of Hopkins' and associated with him throughout the war; they came to be known, among less friendly businessmen and also among inveterate New Dealers, as "Hopkins' tame millionaires."

Because of his desire to identify himself as an Iowan, Hopkins selected Des Moines as the scene of his first major speech as Secretary of Commerce. When he appeared there, at the Des Moines Economic Club, he was accompanied by Harriman who acted as a sort of chaperon or guarantor of economic stability. The Hopkins speech, broadcast nationally, was a persuasive document, and generally reassuring to businessmen, but it was too carefully prepared, too meticulously conciliatory to all groups, to be a characteristic expression of Hopkins himself. It was the kind of speech which appeared to have been written by a large committee rather than by the individual speaker; it was synthetic, characterless. The political overtones and undertones of this Des Moines speech were so obvious to any trained observer that Farley referred to it as "Hopkins' Acceptance Speech." Near the end of this lengthy oration, Hopkins took some cognizance of the perilous state of the human race as of February, 1939. He said:

> We find ourselves in a world which seems to have gone almost crazy in a welter of hates and fears, and in which a new and competitive philosophy has suddenly emerged. A world in which dictatorships —both red and black—have swept aside with ruthless decision almost all of the liberties and freedoms that have made life beautiful and wholesome. It is said that in respect to some of the harsh brutalities of life, these dictatorships are vastly more efficient than the democratic government with which we are famil[illegible] I suppose th[illegible]t it is true that they can raise armies and manuf [illegible] [illegible]ize military power more quickly and m

But he had no solution t
tionist one that the Uni
[illegible]

properties around Grinnell and they also looked into the legal aspects of the proposal that he re-establish his voting residence in his native State. Kerr reported discouragingly that the mere purchase of property would not be enough. Iowans were inclined to be suspicious of such measures. Hopkins would have to prove the sincerity of his intentions by moving all his household goods and his daughter to Iowa and visiting there himself *just as often and for as long as his official duties would permit;* it would help further if he were to rejoin the local Methodist Church and also to join some local clubs and emphasize repeatedly through publicity that Iowa was his home and that he intended to return and live there permanently as soon as his term as Secretary of Commerce should come to an end "I know," said Kerr, with authority, "you don't want to do these things"

This situation amused Roosevelt who said, "We've got to pass the hat to raise the money to buy that farm for Harry"

Hopkins finally took a two-year lease on a farm near Grinnell, Iowa, and then rented it in turn to the tenant farmer who had been operating it. As a strictly absentee landlord, Hopkins derived a profit of two or three hundred dollars a year from his farm, but he never lived on it and visited it only once

After his return to Washington following the Des Moines speech, he wrote to his brother, Lewis

> I had a very delightful trip to Iowa although I was feeling pretty miserable all the time I was there since I had a touch of the flu before I started I met some of our old friends and all of them asked about you I am greatly tempted to get a house out there so that I will have some place to call my own I can't think of any place in the country in which I would rather spend my declining years than that little college town, and now that I am approaching fifty I might as well get ready for it

I [illegible] could [illegible] cused from the charge of arrant hypo[illegible] ose t[illegible] dly on the ground that he was a sick m[illegible] ch [illegible] developed into a complexity of nu[illegible] ses [illegible] him low and, a [illegible] months later [illegible] he next year and [illegible] before his r[illegible] Sec[illegible] ommerce he s[illegible] more

than thirty days off and on at his office. He did conduct a certain amount of business from his house, largely through Edward J. Noble who had taken leave of absence as Chairman of the Board of Life-Savers (Candy) Corporation to serve first with the Civil Aeronautics Authority and then with Hopkins as Under Secretary of Commerce. The public relations men in the Department worked overtime to keep Hopkins in the news, issuing statements to suggest that he was still a dynamo of activity. But it was a masquerade and it provided, in my opinion, the one serious blot on Hopkins' public record. To begin with, the fact that he had cancer in 1937 was completely hushed up. Hopkins might possibly have been able to justify this concealment on the ground that his operation had been successful. However, on his own admission, the Mayo Clinic specialists had told him the odds were two to one against recurrence of the disease, and those odds seem hardly long enough in the case of one who aspired to be President of the United States. Fortunately, the question of Hopkins' health became an academic one in so far as the people's interest was concerned. Near-fatal illness drained him of all personal ambition and converted him into the selfless individual who rendered such great service to the President during the war years.

Early in March, 1939, Hopkins was still feeling worn out and spent from that "touch of flu" and he was glad to accept an invitation from Bernard Baruch to spend a few days at Hobcaw Barony near Georgetown, South Carolina. Baruch's huge plantation was near the coast, at the confluence of the Pee Dee and Waccamaw Rivers, a beautiful and largely wild place, full of live oaks, Spanish moss, magnolias, camellias, azaleas, many kinds of game and fish—and the serene wisdom, the overwhelming prestige and the unshakable self-confidence of its owner. In the cultivation of his own political garden, Hopkins could do no better than seek out the advice and counsel (and, above all, the support) of Bernard Baruch, who held the title of Elder Statesman Number One longer than any man had since Thomas Jefferson.

But when Hopkins visited Hobcaw, Baruch was not inclined to give much attention to political prospects or business condi-

tions at home. His concern was with the gathering calamity abroad. He scoffed at a statement made on March 10 by Neville Chamberlain that "the outlook in international affairs is tranquil"
ston Churchi
We will be i
[Baruch] will be running the show over there, but I will be on the sidelines over here" (That last prophecy was proved inaccurate.) Baruch talked to Hopkins of the realities of the situation as he had seen them in Europe and reported them privately to Roosevelt the previous year, he talked of the amount of misinformation that was being collected and transmitted by our official representatives in Europe, he talked of the woeful state of our unpreparedness and of the measures that had been taken to meet production problems in the First World War. Years later, Baruch said "I think it took Harry a long time to realize how greatly we were involved in Europe and Asia—but once he did realize it, he was all-out for total effort" And he added, "Harry didn't want much to listen to me, but I kept at him"

Chamberlain's assurance of tranquillity held good for just about as long as his later proclamation that Hitler had "missed the bus" On March 14 Czechoslovakia was broken in two by the Nazi fifth column and the following day Hitler and his army marched from the surrendered Sudeten bastion to Prague, in contemptuous violation of even the humiliating assurances he had given at Munich Europe and the world were again plunged into a state of crisis which might mean war at any moment Churchill gave a speech to his constituents, some of whom were complaining that he was disloyal to the Prime Minister and to the cause of peace in his attacks on the Munich agreement He said

> To suppose that we are not involved in what is happening is a profound illusion Although we can do nothing to stop it, we shall be sufferers on a very great scale We shall have to make all kinds of sacrifices for our own defense that would have been unnecessary if a firm resolve had been taken at an earlier stage We shall have to make sacrifices not only of money, but of personal service in order to make

up for what we have lost. This is even more true of the French than of ourselves.

After the visit to Hobcaw, Hopkins underwent exhaustive tests and X rays to make sure that there was no recurrence of cancer. there apparently was none. Dr. George B. Eusterman wrote from the Mayo Clinic to Dr. Kenneth Johnson, "If we can get our distinguished patient to give us a little more cooperation with respect to a more hygienic mode of living this would pay big future dividends." But Hopkins himself was then too discouraged about his health to take much interest in café society or in the situation in Europe.

At the end of March he went to Warm Springs with the President. He wrote a description of this visit:

> We left Washington early in the afternoon of Wednesday, March 29—Mrs. Roosevelt had invited Diana to stay at the White House while I was in Warm Springs—so promising real live ducks for Easter - I kissed my adorable one good-by and for the first time in two weeks stepped out of doors on my all too wobbly legs. I had a room in the President's car and slept the afternoon through—and now more than a week has passed and I am feeling ever so much better
>
> There is no one here but Missy—the President and me—so life is simple—ever so informal and altogether pleasant. And why not—I like Missy—the President is the grandest of companions—I read for hours—and sleep ever so well The food as ever around the W. H. menage is medium to downright bad
>
> The President wakes up about eight thirty—breakfasts in bed—reads the morning papers and if left alone will spend a half hour or so reading a detective story I would go in about nine thirty—usually much talk of European affairs Kennedy and Bullitt our ambassadors in London and Paris would telephone—Hull and Welles from the State Department so we had the latest news of Hitler's moves in the international checkerboard His secretaries and aides would come in at ten thirty with mail, schedule of appointments—gossip of the Foundation—light chit-chat for half an hour when the President dressed before going to the pool for his daily treatment at eleven. He may keep an appointment before eleven - gets in his little car—drives by the press cottage for an interview—this takes about twenty minutes—after the pool he will drive by the golf links—home for lunch at one.
>
> Lunch has usually been F D R with Missy and me—these are the pleasantest because he is under no restraint and personal and public business is discussed with the utmost frankness. The service inci-

dentally is as bad as the food. There are thousands of men in America who get infinitely better care than the President—this in spite of the fact that he is crippled. I would fire them all.

He will sleep a bit after lunch—and at three drive over the countryside with a guest—visit his farm—look at the new tree plantings—back around four thirty for an hour's dictation. Then relax till dinner at seven. The ceremonial cocktail with the President doing the honors—gin and grapefruit juice is his current favorite—and a vile drink it is! He makes a first rate "old fashioned" and a fair martini—which he should stick to—but his low and uncultivated taste in liquors leads him woefully astray. Missy and I will not be bullied into drinking his concoction which leads him to take three instead of his usual quota of two.

Dinner therefore is gay—as it should be—and the President reminisces long over the personal experiences of his life—he tells incidents well—tho he has a bad habit of repeating them every year or so. I fancy Missy has heard them all many times but she never flickers an eyebrow.

After dinner the President retreats to his stamps—magazines and the evening paper. Missy and I will play Chinese checkers—occasionally the three of us played but more often we read—a little conversation—important or not—depending on the mood. George Fox comes in to give him a rub down and the President is in bed by ten.

The above is interesting—aside from Hopkins' random style and his peculiar addiction to the embellishment "ever so"—in that it shows that he was still after five years something of a stranger in the Roosevelt entourage. It also shows how quickly Roosevelt could pass from a state of utter relaxation to one of historic action. On April 14, a few days after his return from Warm Springs, the President addressed a message to Adolf Hitler, in which he said:

> You have repeatedly asserted that you and the German people have no desire for war. If this is true there need be no war.
>
> Nothing can persuade the peoples of the earth that any governing power has any right or need to inflict the consequences of war on its own or any other people save in the cause of self-evident home defense.
>
> In making this statement we as Americans speak not through selfishness or fear or weakness. If we speak now it is with the voice of strength and with friendship for mankind. It is still clear to me that international problems can be solved at the council table.

Hitler's reply to that, two weeks later, was a derisive speech to

the Reichstag which led Senator William E. Borah to sugges with some satisfaction that, in the German Fuehrer, Roosevel had met his match. At the same time the War Department re ceived a long report from the Acting Military Attaché in th American Embassy in Berlin expressing the expectation that i Germany could not coerce Poland through negotiations sh would attack within the next thirty days. He added:

> The present situation when viewed in the light of an active wa which Germany is now in the process of waging becomes clear. I is an economic war in which Germany is fighting for her very exist ence. Germany must have markets for her goods or die and German will not die.

From which it is evident that the Military Attaché was no only attending to his job of observing the Wehrmacht and th Luftwaffe; he was also listening faithfully to Goebbels' propa ganda and reflecting it in his official reports.

The extent to which Roosevelt suspected the accuracy of hi official sources of information—as well as the extent to which h was interested in odd details—is revealed by a bit of highl unimportant correspondence that passed between him and Hop kins during that same critical period. Roosevelt sent Hopkin the following memorandum:

> Will you get for me a memorandum on the relative cost of livin in Caracas, Venezuela, as compared with Washington, D.C.—in term of American dollars? The State Department tells me that for a give income of say $2,000 in Washington, the same person would have t be paid about $5,000 in American money in order to live in the sam way in Caracas. I don't believe it.
>
> In having this looked up, don't let the State Department kno about this query.

The reply to the President came not from Hopkins but fron Willard L. Thorp, and proved that the State Department's in formation was correct. This report covered more than five type written pages of details on the cost of living in Venezuela, suc as: "bottle of catsup (14 oz.) . . .98c." I feel sure that Roosevel read all of this with utmost interest and perhaps with some dis

Hopkins was again too ill to go to his office and a few days later he left Washington for another rest, this time at the home of his friend, Roy Carruthers, in Versailles, Kentucky. There, with Mr. and Mrs John Hertz, he attended the Keeneland Race Track and paid a visit of homage to the great horse, Man O'War. Thereafter, for awhile, he was able to do some work in Washing-

[illegible]

world could not fool the Washington newspapermen who knew that, when Hopkins was really working, he was accessible to them and unfailingly talkative)

It was at this time—June, 1939—that Hopkins first spoke publicly of his advocacy of a third term for President Roosevelt. When he told a United Press reporter that he was determined to urge Roosevelt to seek the Democratic nomination in 1940, the reporter asked, "How is President Roosevelt going to get around the third term bugaboo?" Hopkins answered, "You have got the answer when you say 'President Roosevelt' " Some of those who were close to Hopkins at this time have told me that by now Hopkins was hoping to get the Vice Presidential nomination and thus be Roosevelt's running mate on the Democratic ticket His attempts to re-establish himself as an Iowan would seem to support that However, I have no record of that nor of the President's possible attitude toward such a suggestion. There is a private memorandum written by Hopkins on May 28, 1939, which gives an indication of Mrs Roosevelt's attitude—as follows

> I had luncheon today with Mrs Roosevelt at the White House She asked Diana to come with me, and together with two or three of her friends we lunched out on the porch After luncheon we went out in the gardens—Mrs Roosevelt had her knitting—and discussed for three hours the State of the Nation
>
> Mrs Roosevelt was greatly disturbed about 1940 She is personally anxious not to have the President run again, but I gathered the distinct impression that she has no more information on that point than the rest of us She feels the President has done his part entirely That he has not the same zest for administrative detail that he had and is probably quite frankly bored She thinks that the causes for which

he fought are far greater than any individual person, but that if the New Deal is entirely dependent upon him, it indicates that it hasn't as strong a foundation as she believes it has with the great masses of people. Mrs. Roosevelt is convinced that a great majority of the voters are not only with the President, but with the things he stands for, and that every effort should be made to control the Democratic Convention in 1940, nominate a liberal candidate and elect him. She has great confidence in his ability to do this, if, and it seems to be a pretty big "if" in her mind, he is willing to take his coat off and go to work at it.

Early in June, Hopkins had to rent his one and only cutaway coat and striped pants for the ceremonies attendant upon the visit to Washington of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, whom he was to meet again during the Blitz in London in January, 1941. (He had no cutaway or striped pants on that occasion.) Since James A. Farley has made something of a point of the fact that the President and Mrs. Roosevelt did not invite him to Hyde Park when the King and Queen visited there after their trip to Washington, it might be added that Hopkins was not invited either, nor, so far as I know, was any other Cabinet member except Henry Morgenthau who was a near neighbor.

During the royal visit, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in her column, "My Day," of an encounter with Queen Elizabeth and Diana Hopkins and, with characteristic considerateness, she had this passage typed out on White House stationery and signed it so that Diana might have it as a souvenir of this experience. The description follows:

> The young people in the Cabinet group have been given the opportunity to meet Their Majesties. Only one very young member, Diana Hopkins, has not as yet had this opportunity, and I told the Queen tha
> I thought Diana envisioned her with a crown and sceptre.
> With true understanding, she responded that perhaps the chil
> would be more satisfied if she saw her dressed for dinner, as that migh
> be more like her dream, so this has been arranged.
> At 7:45 little Diana Hopkins and I were waiting in the hall f
> Their Majesties to come out of their rooms on their way to the Briti
> Embassy for dinner. Diana is a solemn little girl and she was spee
> less when the King and Queen came down the hall. She made
> little curtsy to each one and when they asked her questions she m
> aged to answer, but her eyes never left the Queen. After it was o

I said "Diana, did she look as much like a fairy queen as you expected?" With a little gasp she said "Oh, yes" And she did, for the Queen's spangled tulle dress with her lovely jewels and her tiara in her hair, made her seem like someone out of a story book.

During the tense summer of 1939, at the suggestion of Ross McIntire, Hopkins spent most of his time at Delabrooke, a beautiful, old, pre-Revolution house on the Patuxent River in Maryland some fifty miles southeast of Washington. His sons Robert and Stephen spent part of their holidays with him there. Robert has written me

We were both amazed at how sick he was His letters never indicated this When we first arrived, he was quite active He went out fishing in the motor launch almost every morning He took a nap each afternoon Then he began having trouble with his legs The muscles in his calves seemed to tighten up Soon he didn't have the strength to step into the rowboat He spent more and more time in bed

On about July 5th, the President came up the river on the "Potomac" He was due to arrive at six in the evening Dad sent Stephen and me up on the roof of Delabrooke so that we could let him know as soon as we sighted the Potomac This would give him time to dress I remember, at this point, that Dad was furious when Lottie dressed Diana up in a little starched white dress He made her change into a playsuit. The President's ship arrived exactly on schedule We went aboard and the 'Potomac' headed out for the Chesapeake Bay where we were to fish

Apparently Ross McIntire put Dad on a pretty rugged diet This was a source of frustration for Dad He constantly talked about the rich and wonderful foods that he couldn't have He talked about delicious ways of preparing steaks and seafood, and then would sit down to a dinner of strained vegetables Still he maintained his sense of humour On more than one occasion I can remember him saying, "Well, it's time for me to have my spinach"—whereupon he would whip out a hypodermic and give himself a shot in the leg

On August 22, Hopkins went again to the Mayo Clinic. On August 25, Roosevelt wrote to him

Your birthday has come and gone and although I had it very much on my mind to send you a ribald radio things began to pop in Europe and I let the day pass by This is to send you my congratulations and every kind of good wish for many happy returns of the day

I am delighted that you are at Mayo's It was the only thing to do.

very severe malnutrition. But I am relaxed and altogether comfor and, as you know, getting the best possible care. Needless to : have the greatest confidence in the physicians here.

A letter which Hopkins wrote from the Mayo Clinic t daughter, Diana, suggested that he thought this might b last communication he would ever have with her:

I had hoped that I would be back home with you long befor but I am going to stay here for a few days more visiting wi friends of mine. Some day when you are older you will learn o a fine place this is.

I hope you are swimming every day and have given up the water wings because no little girl ever learned to swim with wings. I haven't forgotten that you want to go to the Fair and how, some way we will get up there before school begins. I wis

his Georgetown house and the records indicate that he did not put in a full day's work in his office at the Commerce Department until nearly a year later when he went there to clean out his desk preparatory to retirement. His life had been saved, for the time being, but his career as a political aspirant had ended forever—a development which produced a great improvement in his character and which makes the task of a friendly biographer considerably more agreeable from here on out

I would add that, during the five years that I spent as a transient with a temporary visa in the realm of politics, I came to the conclusion that Lord Acton's oft-quoted statement, "Power corrupts Absolute power corrupts absolutely," is one of those pontifical pronouncements which do not bear analysis. In a democratic society, the desire for power and the ruthless pursuit of it may have a corruptive influence, that was true of Pericles and it was true even of Abraham Lincoln, but the realization of power and of the responsibility that it entails can and often does produce an ennobling effect (In such obvious modern instances as Hitler and Mussolini, Boss Tweed and Al Capone, and various businessmen and labor leaders whom one might name, it is not unreasonable to assume that they were sufficiently corrupt to begin with Certainly, the man who aspires to absolute power is corrupt, per se.) The rise of Franklin Roosevelt to power was due more to the extraordinary circumstances of the times than to any clever conspiracy, but Harry Hopkins, in the promotion of his own slender chances, was impelled to connive, plot and even to misrepresent, and this was undoubtedly the least creditable phase of his public career In the war years when, with no more authority than Roosevelt's personal confidence in him, he achieved tremendous power in the shaping of historic events, he became and remained one of the most incorruptible of men.

CHAPTER V

The Phony War

WHEN the Second World War started, the defenses of the United States consisted primarily of a scrap of paper called the Neutrality Law, which the Congress had passed and which President Roosevelt had signed "with reluctance." That piece of legislation, passed originally in 1936, was carefully designed to prevent us from getting into war in 1917. It was purely retroactive, as though its framers believed that it would restore life to the brave men who had died at Chateau Thierry and in the Argonne. It was born of the belief that we could legislate ourselves out of war, as we had once legislated ourselves out of the saloons (and into the speakeasies). Like Prohibition, it was an experiment "noble in motive" but disastrous in result.

The Second World War started with Hitler's brutal invasion of Poland from the West, followed by the Soviet Union's march into Poland from the East. Britain and France declared war on Germany, in fulfillment of their pledge to Poland, but for nearly eight months there was no fighting by the Western Allies except for isolated naval engagements. The Soviet Union attacked Finland and gained certain territorial advantages thereby, but Hitler remained quiescent and allowed his neighbors to continue in a state of quivering suspense during the autumn and winter of 1939-40. This became known as the period of "the Phony War" and it was the heyday of isolationism in the United States. It was one crisis in Roosevelt's career when he was completely at a loss as to what action to take—a period of terrible, stultifying vacuum.

In October, 1939, Hopkins wrote from his sickbed to his brother Emory in Portland, Oregon. He said:

> The only interest here, as everywhere, is the war and I believe that we really can keep out of it. Fortunately there is no great sentiment in this country for getting into it although I think almost everyone wants to see England and France win.

In those two sentences Hopkins unconsciously stated the greatest problem that Roosevelt had to face in his entire admin-

istration, the greatest problem any President had faced at least since Lincoln made the determination against the urgent advice of almost all of his Cabinet to send relief to Fort Sumter. I believe that Hopkins' tendency was naturally isolationist, he was certainly a pacifist, as were so many other liberals; he had only the vaguest concept of the deadly peril to American security that Roosevelt saw in the world situation.

In his speech to a Canadian audience at Queens University in Kingston, Ontario, a year previously, Roosevelt had said

> We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigor of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not.

When Roosevelt said that, as when he made the Quarantine Speech, he was accused by the isolationists of exaggerating dangerously for the purpose of creating undue alarm. "What European general staff," they asked, "could possibly be concerned with the Western Hemisphere?" But Roosevelt in his own mind was not exaggerating in any of his prewar speeches he was erring on the side of understatement. Although he was no great authority on military strategy, and gave almost unqualified freedom of decision during the war to his Chiefs of Staff, the knowledge that he did possess was basic. The first point in his military credo was than an ocean is not necessarily a barrier—it is a broad highway. His considerable knowledge of geography and of navigation gave him understanding of the importance of the bases from which traffic on that highway could be controlled. His thinking was, of course, essentially naval, which meant that he did not look very far beyond the bridgeheads secured by Marines, however, he knew what the essential bridgeheads were —the British Isles, France, the Iberian Peninsula, the North and West Coasts of Africa and, in the Pacific, the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines and the Marianas. Early in 1939, some unidentified Senator told the press that, in the course of a secret White House conference on the European situation, the Presi-

dent had said, "Our American frontier is on the Rhine." That quotation was hailed joyously in Britain and in France, and with threatening indignation in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The isolationists at home set up angry howls of protest. When questioned about it at a subsequent press conference, Roosevelt denounced the quotation as a "deliberate lie" and referred to the anonymous informant as "some boob." Nevertheless, whether or not Roosevelt actually made the statement, he most certainly did believe that America's eastern frontier was on the Rhine and it was on this belief that he acted when he risked political suicide in his efforts to break through the Neutrality Law and to get aid to those who fought against Axis aggression. He was unable to get such aid through effectively in time to keep the frontier on the Rhine; but he was able to help incalculably in keeping it on the English Channel and the Straits of Gibraltar.

When war actually broke out in Europe, Roosevelt was tame enough in his first public statements to satisfy the most timid. He said:

> This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well. Even a neutral has a right to take account of facts. Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience. . .
>
> I hope the United States will keep out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurance and reassurance that every effort of your Government will be directed toward that end.

This last may be denounced as, at worst, deliberately misleading or, at best, as wishful thinking. The inescapable fact is that this was what Roosevelt felt compelled to say in order to maintain any influence over public opinion and over Congressional action. Two weeks after the war started he called Congress into extraordinary session to repeal the arms embargo provisions of the Neutrality Law and thus permit the sale of war matériel to England and France on a "cash and carry" basis. Even this meager concession had to be asked for on the grounds that the embargo provisions were, "in my opinion, most vitally dangerous to American neutrality, American security and, above all, American peace." It is my belief—and this is pure speculation—

that at this time and up to the fall of France Roosevelt was wishfully hoping that Britain and France would prove indomitable in the West, that the Soviet Union would keep Germany contained in the East, that this stalemate would last until the German people would become fed up with "guns before butter" and revolt, thereby bursting the Nazi bubble so that peace would be restored without the need for American armed intervention. It seems quite evident that Roosevelt did not have full comprehension of the real, paralyzing force of the Nazi fury, nor of the imminence of the danger to the United States, until the Blitzkrieg was hurled into France in the spring of 1940. At that point, I am sure, he became convinced—and this is not speculation—that if Britain fell disastrous war for the United States would be inevitable, that Germany would attack the Western Hemisphere, probably at first in Latin America, as soon as she had assembled a sufficient naval force and transport and cargo fleet (not too long a process, with all the shipbuilding facilities of Europe at Germany's disposal) and that Japan would concurrently go on the rampage in the Pacific

One major factor in Roosevelt's thinking as the war began is a matter of certainty his greatest fear then and subsequently was of a negotiated peace, another Munich Here again was demonstration of the fear of fear itself He communicated his concern to the British Government through extra-official channels (specifically, Lord Beaverbrook) and he started his historic correspondence with Winston Churchill—whom he addressed as the "Naval Person"—recognizing in him his foremost British ally in awareness of the folly of any attempt to do business with Hitler. (Churchill's cables to Roosevelt were usually addressed to "POTUS," the initials of "President of the United States") Roosevelt's fear of a negotiated peace was based on the conviction that it would be dictated by the same craven considerations that dictated the surrender at Munich—fear of Nazi might and fear that, if Nazi might were eliminated, Germany would no longer be a buffer state between Russia and the West. It was obvious to Roosevelt as it should have been to any in-

formed observer that Hitler wanted a negotiated peace because it would work in so many ways to his advantage:

(1) It would further strengthen his position in Germany, providing conclusive proof to the German people that he could hoodwink Britain and France into selling another small country into slavery (in this case, Poland) rather than to risk actual war.

(2) It would give Germany time to consolidate her gains in Czechoslovakia and Poland and further to increase her rearmament, particularly in the building of submarines, airplanes and the Siegfried Line.

(3) It would tend to push public sentiment in Britain and France—and most of all in the United States—back into the peacetime isolationist ruts, and thereby retard if not nullify all efforts in the democracies to prepare for war.

(4) It would convince the Russians—and the Japanese—that the Western democracies were completely spineless and decadent, as Hitler and Mussolini had so long and so loudly proclaimed them to be.

Thus, Roosevelt was on sure ground when he urged that a negotiated peace would give Hitler the one or two years' respite that he needed to prepare for conquest of Europe, Africa, the Middle East and the major part of the Atlantic world; but, when the European Allies asked Roosevelt, as France in effect did, "What will *you* do to back us up?"—he could only reply that he had virtually nothing to offer more tangible than his personal good will. He could utter brave words but, when deeds were called for, he was hogtied by the prevailing isolationist sentiment.

Since I use the word "isolationists" frequently in these pages, perhaps it would be well to clarify it. Actually, in the first year or more of war, the ranks of the isolationists included the overwhelming majority of the American people who would have been glad to see the European war end on almost any inconclusive terms merely as a guarantee that the United States would not be drawn into it. Public opinion on this score was much more nearly unanimous and more clearly expressed than it had been in 1914–17. It is true that in the First World War there was

substantially more pro-German sentiment in the United States: [illegible] numbers of German-Americans then still held close cul[illegible]
[illegible] for the Hohen-
[illegible] erage
[illegible] ng as
[illegible]
icans in 1939 were [illegible]
vious generation had conspicuously lacked, the experience of involvement in European war, and they wanted no more of it. The impulse to let "Europe stew in its own juice" was a very powerful one and an entirely understandable one, for there were too many Americans who considered that their country's only reward for coming to the aid of Britain and France in 1918 was to be given the name of "Uncle Shylock." (As Roosevelt remarked many times, "We fortunately never had a chance to find out what our 'reward' would have been if Germany had won that war.") Thus, isolationist sentiment in 1939 was not limited to Americans of German birth or descent, or to those who loved German music and admired German science and industry, or to those who were pure pacifists; it was representative of the entire American people save for a diminutive minority of those who believed that a victory for Hitler would put the security of our own country and our own constitutional democracy in deadly peril. The first wartime Roper poll taken in September, 1939 (see p. 156), gave eloquent testimony to the state of the nation's thinking.

It will be seen that the extreme interventionist sentiment was limited to 2.5 per cent of the population. Isolationist sentiment was, of course, much stronger among women than among men. The sectional breakdown of this analysis showed very little difference between the New England and Middle Atlantic States and those in the Middle West but far more interventionist sentiment below the Mason-Dixon Line and, somewhat surprisingly, in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast States. (It should be remembered that this public opinion poll did not contemplate the possibility of war with Japan, the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis not having been formed at that time.)

Which of these comes closest to describing what you think America should do about the present European war?

		Sex		*Age*	
	Total	*Male*	*Female*	*Under 40*	*Over 40*
	%	%	%	%	%
Enter the war at once on the side of England, France and Poland.	2.5	3.6	1.3	2.1	2.8
Find some way of supporting Germany.	.3	.1	.1	.2	.2
Take no sides and stay out of the war entirely, but offer to sell to anyone on a cash-and-carry basis.	37.5	43.0	32.2	37.8	37.2
Do not enter the war but supply England, France and Poland with materials and food, and refuse to ship anything *to Germany*.	8.9	9.0	8.7	8.8	9.0
Stay out for now and for as long as we can, but go into war on the side of England and France if they are in real danger of losing, and in the meantime help that side with food and materials.	14.7	16.1	13.3	15.4	14.0
Have nothing to do with any warring country—don't even trade with them on a cash-and-carry basis.	29.9	23.6	36.1	29.9	29.9
Other—Pro-Ally	.6	.8	.6	.7	.6
Other—Pro-Germany	—	—	—	—	—
Other—Favoring neither side	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.5	2.2
Don't know	3.9	1.9	5.8	3.7	4.0

The all-out isolationist faction which would have "nothing to do with any warring country" was close to thirty per cent and this remained a pretty constant figure through all of the opinion tests that were made over such issues as Selective Service, the destroyers-for-bases deal, Lend Lease, etc. This thirty per cent represented the hard core of isolationists and included in it were such strange bedfellows as all the native Fascist organizations, which hailed Hitler as the champion against Bolshevism, and all the members of the Communist party and their fellow-travelers; for [illegible]
Soviet mu [illegible]
dividuals [illegible]
gether disproportionate capacity for noisemaking (like the Communists) and they were by no means a negligible force in spreading the propaganda line as dictated by Goebbels from Berlin

Immeasurably stronger were the racial and religious groups who favored extreme isolationism I do not believe that the German-Americans should be included among these for the great majority of them were appalled by what Hitler had done to the land of their forefathers and those who joined or even tolerated the German-American Bund were fortunately few in number. The Scandinavians, particularly in the North Middle West, were considerably more emphatic than the Germans in championing strict neutrality but this sentiment was later affected by the invasions of Denmark and Norway The Italian-Americans as a group were not necessarily in favor of Fascism but they admired the seeming accomplishments of Mussolini in restoring Italy to the dignity of a great power and there were many of them who were mortally offended by Roosevelt's reference to the 'stab in the back The more rabid Irish-Americans who constituted a potent political force in some of the larger metropolitan areas were, as always, inclined to cheer for anyone who was fighting against England and they were at this time given effective leadership by the violent pamphleteer and radio star, Father Charles E Coughlin Because of Father Coughlin and the activities of such subversive organizations a[illegible]tian Front, as well as the sentiments of so many Irish[illegible]

Americans, the Catholic Church became identified to a certain extent in the public mind with the cause of extreme isolationism. However, the Polish-Americans, who formed an important part of the Catholic community, were of course bitterly anti-Nazi as well as anti-Communist.

Organized labor, the greatest unit of support for Roosevelt, was now an uncertain quantity. The unions under Communist domination dutifully followed the party line of all-out isolationism and so did those under the control of John L. Lewis, the bitterest Roosevelt-hater of them all. The great bulk of labor while unquestionably anti-Nazi was also anti-war, fearing that United States involvement would retard or even destroy the gains made by labor under the New Deal. I believe that much the same sentiment had prevailed in the Labor Party in Great Britain before the war; it had certainly prevailed in the C.G.T. in France.

The chief leadership and the essential financing of isolationism as a political faction were provided by men and women who belonged to no particular group: there were a number of businessmen, like General Robert E. Wood, Jay Hormel, and James D. Mooney, who simply believed that Hitler was going to win and that the United States had better plan to "do business" with him; and there were technicians, of whom the arch example was Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, who were so impressed with the technological achievements of Hitler's regimented state, as contrasted with the hopeless inefficiency of democracy, that they believed Fascism constituted "the wave of the future." It was such as these, together with assorted sufferers from the virulent xenophobia of the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press, who formed the America First Committee, the ultimate spearhead of isolationism.

There were, in addition, considerable numbers of liberals, and many of them in the Roosevelt Administration itself, who opposed the President's unneutral policy because of a pacifistic fear that involvement in war, or even preparation therefor, would produce an interruption in social progress and an assault upon civil liberties such as that which occurred under A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian and Attorney Gen-

eral in the Wilson Administration As I have indicated, Harry Hopkins would undoubtedly have been included with his friends Senator Robert M. La Follette and Robert M. Hutchins in this category of liberal isolationists had it not been for his fervent conviction that Roosevelt could not possibly be wrong on any major issue. It was the liberal group—and, to a much lesser extent, the Communists—who made the greatest appeal to youth in the country and inspired so many "Keep Us Out of War" demonstrations on so many campuses

There was another and extremely important element in the thinking of liberals and of countless middle-of-the-road Americans whose political affiliations were hazy but whose impulses were essentially decent that was profound distrust of the reactionary leaders in Britain and France who had gone to Munich once and might well go there again Here was an honest and intelligent sentiment which dishonest and dangerously stupid men could exploit The records of calculated British propaganda in America in the First World War as they had been set down by such thoughtful and reasonable writers as Walter Millis and Quincy Howe evoked too many malodorous memories Before the advent of calamity in Western Europe and of Winston Churchill, the Allied cause did not have a good smell even in the nostrils of those who hated Fascism and all its evil works The same general sentiment applied—although to a far lesser extent, because of public ignorance of the area—to the Kuomintang regime in China It was not easy to answer the question: should American boys die fighting Fascism in Europe and Asia in order to defend neo-Fascism? The unworthy Frenchmen who raised the cry, "Why should we die for Danzig?" raised more echoes in American hearts than Goebbels or Gayda ever did Early in 1939 that understanding, objective, sharp-witted Scot, Robert Bruce Lockhart, author of *British Agent* and many other books, went on a lecture tour of the United States In a later book, *Comes the Reckoning*, he wrote

> The effect of my lectures, like that of most British lecturers was insignificant, if not indeed harmful, and the only benefit of it was self-education

Lockhart summarized the average American's attitude toward Britain's problems in these words:

> "We Americans went into the last war to save democracy. We pulled you out of a hole and we received very grudging thanks. At Versailles and after Versailles you trampled on democratic ideals. Now, largely through your own fault, you are in trouble again and you want our help. Well, we've learnt our lesson."

Lockhart later became Director General of the Political Warfare Executive, which was attached to the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Information. Perhaps because of his own experience and his remarkably realistic appraisal thereof, the British sent no lecturers to the United States during the entire war, except when specifically requested to do so by the American authorities. The mistakes of the First World War were not repeated.

What Lockhart encountered may be described as the essential "grass roots" sentiment, which was strongly represented in the Congress together with all the various prejudices and fears that always beset little men. There was another powerful influence in the Congress: this was the kind of crossroads chauvinism which afflicts minor politicians who know they can always get applause by indulging in eagle-screaming—the kind of picayune parochialism which contends that all "furriners," particularly Englishmen and Frenchmen, are slick deceivers who are out to pull the wool over the eyes of poor, innocent, gullible Uncle Sam the while they deftly extract the gold from his teeth. I am not suggesting that Congress was dominated by this spirit, nor that the Republicans had any more of it than the Democrats; but it was always there and always highly vocal and such forceful isolationist leaders as Senator Burton K. Wheeler (Democrat, of Montana), and Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (Republican, of Massachusetts), knew well how to mobilize it.

When I speak of the "isolationists," from now on, I shall refer particularly to those in the Congress who were in a position to block the Roosevelt measures and, from their rostrum on Capitol Hill, to publicize what they considered his attempts to dupe the American people into a war which they believed was none of our business. It was a curious fact that these extreme isolation-

ists were not pacifists in the sense that they opposed war, as such; indeed, their attitude toward the Soviet Union—and also, in some cases, toward Japan—was one of extreme belligerency. They seemed to be in favor of fighting under two essential conditions (1) that all battles be staged on our own home grounds, in the Western Hemisphere (otherwise, it would be a "foreign" [illegible]

by fighting in France together with Allies who had turned out to be ingrates, and so we must be careful never to do that again. The Roosevelt doctrine was that if we were to get into a war we should fight it as far from our own shores as possible and with the greatest number of allies, regardless of ideology, that we could enlist, accepting whatever risks there might be of potential ingratitude after the common enemies had been disposed of.

The myopic form of Congressional isolationism can best be expressed by two quotations of the period The first was from Representative John G Alexander, a Minnesota Republican. In a letter to the President on Selective Service, he wrote

> Why take our youth from their homes and out of the wholesome environment in which most of them are living, and transplant them into the lonely inhospitable and disturbing and discouraging arena of a training camp? Their mental, moral and physical well being is too important to be disregarded in that way Mr President, we want no foreign wars, we want none of our American boys to fight in foreign lands or seas, we want only to prepare to protect and defend our own shores and border

The other quotation was from Senator Robert A Taft:

> I do not know what the Germans may do and no one knows what they may do until they are freed from the present war and have an opportunity to show When they do we can adopt the same methods We can take the same steps that may be necessary to meet the particular kind of German blitzkrieg, if there is such a blitzkrieg, at the time we find out what it is

In other words, we were to fight only (1) when the enemy, having previously disposed of all of our potential allies, had arrived at our shores or 'border' and (2) after he had revealed

to us all of the new weapons and tactics that he proposed to employ for our destruction. These two quotations might well be printed at the start of the most elementary textbook used at West Point and Annapolis in order to teach student officers what they must first contend with in their careers of service to the United States.

In his constantly delicate and difficult relations with the Con-
ess in matters of foreign policy, Roosevelt was constantly
reful to avoid what Tolstoy called "the irrevocable act." He
ow carried a heavy share of responsibility for the future history
the world. If he were to go before the Congress with a request
or action on an issue of international importance and were
efeated, it would involve more than gleeful editorials in the
hicago Tribune and possible losses for the Democratic party
t the next elections; it could well involve utter, world-wide
isaster. The melancholy story has been told of the meeting in
he President's study one evening a few weeks before war broke
ut in Europe at which Roosevelt and Cordell Hull told Vice
resident Garner, Senator William E. Borah and other Senators
f their conviction that war might be averted by immediate
mendment of the Neutrality Act. Hull argued the point with
ears in his eyes, but Borah brushed him off with the statement
hat his private sources of information assured him there would
e no war ("Germany isn't ready for it"); and Garner ended
he meeting by saying, cheerfully, to Roosevelt: "Well, Captain,
re may as well face the facts. You haven't got the votes, and
hat's all there is to it." Roosevelt did not forget that experience
nd neither did Hull, who had more respect than Roosevelt did
or the dignity and authority of the Congress. Before Roosevelt
sked for anything else in the next two years, he was extremely
areful to make sure that he had "the votes." He hesitated to take
chance which might result in an adverse vote—or even a fairly
lose vote—in the Congress and thereby render aid and comfort
o the Germans and Japanese and discouragement and demor-
lization to those who fought them. It is not easy for the average
itizen to appreciate the extent to which every word, every
nplication, uttered by the President of the United States, as
rell as every action committed by him, may bolster the courage

or deepen the despair of hundreds of millions of people in lands overseas. But Roosevelt appreciated it. His cautious policy of one step at a time often infuriated the extreme interventionists who often asked, "Why doesn't he go to Congress and demand a declaration of war *now*?" Had he done so in the summer of 1940, for example, when Britain was fighting alone, he would undoubtedly have been repudiated by the Congress and that might well have been the signal to the British people that their cause was hopeless and that they had no choice but surrender. I think that the criticism aimed at Roosevelt by the interventionists caused him more temporary irritation than that hurled at him day after day by the isolationists. Shortly before Christmas, 1939, someone sent him a copy of a poem written by Joseph Warren in 1775, the first verse of which was as follows:

> Lift up your hands, ye heroes,
> And swear with proud disdain,
> The wretch that would ensnare you
> Shall lay his snares in vain
> Should Europe empty all her force
> We'll meet her in array
> And fight and shout and fight for free Amerikay

The correspondent—name unknown to me—who sent that to the President explained that "according to Carl Sandburg, the pronunciation 'Amerikay' was customary with both Lincoln and Jeff Davis."

Roosevelt sent a copy of this verse to Hopkins with the following letter:

> Those verses by Joseph Warren, written in 1775, are interesting as showing that a matter of four million people with few resources thought even in those days that they could lick the world. I fear that today altogether too many people in Amerikay want, as they did then, to "fight and shout and fight." Some of us believe there would be more shouting than fighting.

Roosevelt, normally one who interpreted his constitutional powers in the broadest possible terms, might have used the immediate impact of European war to assume authority far beyond that of the normal peacetime President. But [illegible] the opposite. In a press conference following his [illegible]

atrophied. This was a bitter pill for Hull to swallow, and he never did fully digest it. He was extremely jealous of his reputation as one officer of the Administration who had been guilty of no conspicuous blunders and who had been spared the criticism lavished on all the others, including the President himself. However, in times of desperate emergency when drastic, daring action had to be taken quickly, Roosevelt was bound to become impatient with anyone whose primary concern was the maintenance of a personal record of "no runs—no hits—no errors." To an ever greater extent, Roosevelt bypassed Hull to deal directly with Sumner Welles, or to assign what should have been State Department functions to the Treasury Department, the War Department, or to any other agency or individual who might get things done, including eventually Harry Hopkins, the archetype of what Hull called "the extreme left fringe" surrounding the President. Hull believed that he had been selected by Roosevelt as the man to succeed him at the end of the second term, and this belief was assiduously cultivated and encouraged by James A. Farley—as is discussed elsewhere in these pages. Although Hull had conducted no campaign in his own behalf (Farley was doing that for him) he felt that he had been betrayed, if not by Roosevelt, then by Hopkins and the "extreme left fringe." However, unlike Farley, he finally stood by Roosevelt in the campaign of 1940 and was a powerful force in his re-election; and Roosevelt did not forget this.

Unquestionably, the most lasting and most deplorable element in the distant relations between the White House and its next-door neighbor to the west was the President's close association with Sumner Welles—an association based on long friendship and genuine admiration. I cannot pretend to give the reasons for the animosity that existed between the Secretary and Under Secretary of State. But there is no question of doubt that their conflict became so ugly and so extremely dangerous that it eventually compelled the resignation of Welles, which was a serious loss to Roosevelt, for he placed great dependence on Welles's judgment particularly in all matters relating to the framing of the ultimate peace. These are circumstances of which it is not agreeable to write, and impossible for a contemporary

to write without evidence of bias in one form or another. However, history will achieve no complete understanding of Franklin Roosevelt's Administration without knowledge of the intramural feuds which so frequently beset it. (I do not believe that even history will ever be able to understand why he tolerated them to the extent that he did.)

The War Department was weakened by a more obvious and even more impolite running battle between the Secretary, Harry H. Woodring, and Louis A. Johnson, Assistant Secretary. Woodring was isolationist at heart while Johnson believed in all-out armament. Their severe clashes were hardly helpful to the Army at a time when its needs were most desperate.

The Navy Department was in much better shape although its Secretary, Charles Edison, was frail in health and insufficiently enthusiastic about his job. Furthermore, Edison appears to have been singularly complacent about the world situation. On June 1, 1940—the very day when Hitler dictated his armistice terms to Pétain's stunned representatives in the forest of Compiègne—Edison wrote to Hopkins urging the use of airships (dirigibles) for the increase of trade with South America. The following words in this letter were underscored by Hopkins:

We may safely assume, I feel, that as soon as the present situation clears in Europe, Germany will immediately resume her South American airship service, even despite her lack of helium or possibly with Russian helium.

The Navy, like the War Department, was to a lamentable extent cowed by the force of isolationist sentiment on Capitol Hill and was trained to be timid in requests for appropriations. The officers most successful in the Department in peacetime were those whom Congress identified as the most economy minded—and sailors or soldiers who are economy minded rarely win wars.

The officer personnel in both services were anything but blind in devotion to the policies of their Commander in Chief. In the Army, there was a tendency among officers of both ground and air forces to admire Germany for her achievements in building up these arms. This led in some extreme cases to the hope that Germany would conquer England thereby providing historic

demonstration of the superiority of land and air power over sea power. Obviously, these sentiments were not shared by Navy officers but, for many of them, the main interest was in the Far East, rather than Europe, and it was their hope that if the United States must go to war the main battleground would be the Pacific.

There was another reason for the weakness of Roosevelt's position during the period of the Phony War, and it was probably the most important reason of all he was in the last year of his second term as President, and it is one of the classical weaknesses of our American constitutional system that a President who is approaching the end of his tenure of office can exercise little authority in the conduct of foreign affairs The old theory that politics "ends at the waterline" is nonsense. In times of partisan struggle for power there is no point at which politics ends and this was particularly true in 1939-40 when all domestic issues became indistinct and insignificant in the shadow of war. If Roosevelt had indicated in 1939 or early 1940 that he *would* run for a third term, then he would have become a candidate rather than a President, his own party would have been divided into pros and cons and the Republicans would have been united in attacking his every policy, foreign and domestic. If he had indicated he would not run again, then his authority would have become negligible at home and nonexistent abroad His only solution was to shroud his intentions in mystery; in addition to which, it is apparent that for a long time he himself did not know just what these intentions were This was a period of impotence when, with all of civilization in peril, the leader of the most powerful nation on earth had to wait, day after anxious day, for his own course of action to be shaped by events over which he had no control. It was particularly agonizing for one of his venturesome spirit to be unable to act boldly or even cautiously to plan action in face of impending calamity, of which the Blitzkrieg in Poland had given a suggestion. The world now knew how the Nazis could strike—how their Air Force could paralyze communications—that their tanks were not, as had hopefully been reported, made of ersatz steel But the French could only crouch behind the Maginot Line, and the British

behind the Royal Navy, and the Americans behind the Neutrality Law. And Roosevelt was, for once in his life, deedless and, so far as he was able to say anything of any consequence, speechless. Early in January, 1940, he sent for Sumner Welles, who has written, "He admitted frankly that the chances seemed to him about one in a thousand that anything at all could be done to change the course of events." The one chance as Roosevelt then saw it was to send Welles to Europe to talk to the heads of government in Germany, Italy, France and Britain to determine "the possibilities of concluding any just and permanent peace" but not any "temporary or tentative armed truce." If Roosevelt believed there was any possibility that Hitler would agree to disarm—or even to give up one acre that Germany had seized—he most certainly was thinking wishfully. Welles returned from his mission with discouraging reports about everything except the temper of the British, but with much useful information on the personalities of the men he had met, and Roosevelt was one who knew how to use such information. It was always of tremendous importance to him to be able to size up the characters of the leaders of both enemy and friendly states.

One may wonder why Welles did not also go to the Soviet Union at the time, but Roosevelt "did not feel that a visit to Moscow would serve any useful purpose." Indeed, then, the prestige of the Soviet Union was so low that it was counted as only a potential victim of Germany and not as a valid aggressive factor. Russia was then involved to the discredit of its arms in the Winter War with little Finland and was making a woefully unimpressive showing. There was no hint revealed of the eventual magnificence of the Red Army in action. Many people have assumed that this was an act of deliberate deception on Russia's part—simulating weakness in order to mask her real strength—but a remark made by Joseph Stalin, printed later in this book, indicated that the weakness then was real.

The war in Finland caused intensification of the isolationist activities of the Communist party in the United States and led to a singular episode at the White House: An American Youth Congress held a convention in Washington in February, 1940, and the delegates assembled on the south lawn of the White

House on a raw, rainy day to hear a speech by the President It was one of the few occasions in his life when Roosevelt was booed and hissed to his face by an audience of Americans. He referred to a resolution, passed by one of the councils of this Youth Congress, against the granting of American aid to Finland on the ground that such action was "an attempt to force America into the imperialistic war." Roosevelt said.

> More than twenty years ago, while most of you were very young children, I had the utmost sympathy for the Russian people. In the early days of Communism, I recognized that many leaders in Russia were bringing education and better health and, above all, better opportunity to millions who had been kept in ignorance and serfdom under the imperial regime I disliked the regimentation under Communism I abhorred the indiscriminate killings of thousands of innocent victims I heartily deprecated the banishment of religion—though I knew that some day Russia would return to religion for the simple reason that four or five thousand years of recorded history have proven that mankind has always believed in God in spite of many abortive attempts to exile God
>
> I, with many of you, hoped that Russia would work out its own problems, and that its government would eventually become a peace-loving, popular government with a free ballot, which would not interfere with the integrity of its neighbors
>
> That hope is today either shattered or put away in storage against some better day. The Soviet Union, as everybody who has the courage [illegible]
>
> which seeks only to live at peace as a democracy, and a liberal, forward looking democracy at that
>
> It has been said that some of you are Communists That is a very unpopular term these days As Americans you have a legal and constitutional right to call yourselves Communists, those of you who do You have a right peacefully and openly to advocate certain ideals of theoretical Communism; but as Americans you have not only a right but a sacred duty to confine your advocacy of changes in law to the methods prescribed by the Constitution of the United States—and you have no American right, by act or deed of any kind, to subvert the Government and the Constitution of this Nation

Those words, which appear to have been very carefully cho[illegible] and the boos that greeted them, provide eloquent testim[illegible]

the weirdness of the atmosphere that prevailed during the Phony War. For Roosevelt was the President who had first established friendly relations with the Soviet Union, after sixteen years of attempts by the U.S. Government to ignore its existence, and who subsequently rendered decisive aid to the Russians when they became victims of the savage forces they had sought to appease.

During this winter of the Phony War, Churchill paid his respects to the neutral nations of Europe who sought to buy immunity from German aggression by appeasement. He said, "Each one hopes that if he feeds the crocodile enough, the crocodile will eat him last." Churchill evidently liked to use the crocodile as the symbol of Nazi voracity. Years later, when he was explaining the North African operation to Stalin, he drew a picture of a crocodile on a sheet of Kremlin paper and said, "We shall strike him here, in the soft underbelly [the Mediterranean] while at the same time we hit him here, in the snout" [Northern France].

In March, 1940, Hopkins was sufficiently recovered to get out of bed for a few hours each day and go downstairs and even, when the weather was sunny and warm, go out for an occasional drive. But he was still very weak. He wrote to Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, asking for help in obtaining some seeds for his garden. Among them were petunias, begonias, ageratums, candy tufts, sweet alyssum, pansies, forget-me-nots, calliopsis, bachelor buttons and white and yellow rose bushes. He told Wallace, "This is to be the extent of the kind of thing I am going to be able to do this spring." (In the years that I knew Hopkins I never saw him take any interest in a flower.)

CHAPTER VI

The Former Naval Person

IN THEIR swift invasion of Norway, the German ground troops were transported secretly to many points on that long and com-

plicated coastline under the very eyes and guns of the British Home Fleet. This was the contemptuous answer to Neville Chamberlain's stupendously unfortunate remark about Hitler having "missed the bus" When the British attempt to intervene in Norway proved a fiasco, an elder Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, described it as "another tragedy of too little—and too late" Those last words formed the epitaph on the grave of wishful thinking in the democracies They were burned into the very soul of Franklin Roosevelt They had a continuing effect through the years on all those who were involved in the direction of the Allied war effort. They created the sense of desperate urgency which the desperate times demanded. As crisis after crisis burst it was repeated that, "Never again must we be *too little and too late*!" But we almost were The margin between victory and defeat proved to ve very narrow indeed: it was no wider than the English Channel—no wider than one street in Stalingrad—no wider than the Solomons' "Slot" The invasions of Norway and Denmark on April 9, 1940, marked the beginning of the end of the Phony War and, with the invasions of Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France on May 10, the period of impotence at last came to its overdue conclusion In the course of the next six months, Roosevelt made by all odds the most momentous decisions of his career—and he made them, it must be remembered, without previous authorization by Congress and against the earnest advice of many of his most influential associates and friends

On the day that the Germans marched—or, rather, hurtled—into the Low Countries, Chamberlain resigned and Winston Churchill was at last called to Buckingham Palace to accept the post of the King's First Minister (He thereupon became, *in* his correspondence with Roosevelt, the 'Former Naval Person.") He told the House of Commons, 'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat ' Anthony Eden, who had been out of the Cabinet for a year before the war started because of his opposition to Chamberlain's policies, was brought back to prominence as Secretary of State for War *in the new* coalition government The British people now had leaders worthy of them.

On May 14, the Dutch Army surrendered and the German
itzkrieg began to turn westward toward the classic battlefields
f Northern France. The Ardennes again became the scene of
nassive German victory. The hapless French Commander i
Chief, General Gamelin, was replaced by General Weygan
and Churchill broadcast to the world, "We may look with co
fidence to the stabilization of the front in France." But t
world looked in vain. The famous "sickle" movement was
full stride and within two days of Churchill's reassurance
mobile columns had cut through north of the Somme to
English Channel at Abbeville, had then swung northeast
along the coast to Boulogne and Calais and were within
of England. The Germans under Hitler had accomplished in
eleven days what they had failed to do in the four years of
bitter fighting in the First World War. It was a brilliant cam
paign of calculated panic which led to fierce demoralizatio
On May 28, King Leopold of Belgium surrendered. Weygar
attempted to form a line of defense on the Somme. For a ti
there was great question in the public mind whether Hi
would attack this line and strike southward to Paris or would
direct his catapulting force across the Channel for the invasion
of England.

When the Blitzkrieg in the West was in its fifth day, Church-
ill sent Roosevelt a cable which was full of dark forebodings
for the German conquest of Europe with "astonishing swift-
ness." He contemplated the possibility of heavy bombing of
Britain and of paratroop attacks. He predicted that Mussolini
would burst into the war to collect his share of the "loot o
civilization." (This was twenty-five days before Mussolini di
so.) He asked the President to proclaim a state of "no
belligerency" for the United States, which would mean suppl
ing all kinds of aid but no armed action. The aid that Churc
wanted immediately included the lease of forty or fifty
stroyers, several hundred war planes, antiaircraft guns
steel. He asked for American diplomatic co-operation to
suade the Irish Free State to take measures to prevent Ge
invasion. He asked for co-operation in preventing fu
ression in Southeast Asia. In connection wi

latter, Churchill suggested the U.S. Navy use Singapore as a base. Most important of all in this cable, Churchill said that, if necessary, Britain would fight on alone. In a cable sent five days later (May 20) Churchill said that, if Britain went down, he and his government would perish with it, and he could not be responsible for the terms that might be imposed on whatever form of British "authority" the Germans might decide to recognize. Roosevelt did not discount these and subsequent cabled reports from Churchill as exaggerations. During these weeks when horror was piled upon horror, Roosevelt believed that if Churchill erred at all in his estimates he erred on the side of optimism, but Roosevelt rarely objected to that kind of error.

British troops in Boulogne and Calais managed by determined if ultimately hopeless resistance to delay the German advance just long enough to permit the flooding of the water lines at Gravelines, which in turn could be defended by French troops for a few days. Those few days were of historic importance, for within ten miles of Gravelines was the final objective of the sickle movement, Dunkirk, the last remaining port of evacuation. Had the Germans managed to reach it, at the rate they had maintained since the Blitzkrieg started, they would have completed the destruction of the French forces of the north as well as the entire British and Belgian armies—while the bulk of the French Army sat, helpless and innocuous in the unmolested Maginot Line. But in this one, last stage of their timetable the Germans failed, and they thereupon turned their main attention away from the English Channel to the Rivers Somme and Aisne and the drive on Paris.

A sense of terror swept through the civilized world as a result of these bewildering events, these incredible achievements of mechanized barbarism. The horrible confusion and hysteria of the civilians of the Low Countries—driven to panicked flight along narrow roads by the fifth column and machine gunned and bombed as they fled by the screaming Stuka dive bombers—communicated itself to peoples far from the scene of combat. It was the supreme triumph of what Ed[illegible] Taylor has correctly called the "Strategy of Terror." It [illegible]

ny that the boasts of Nazi propaganda were not mere
ast, after all; the Germans *were* supermen, and nothing
d ever be able to stop them. There was a perceptible lifting
earts when announcement was made of the evacuation at
nkirk—but those with any knowledge of military reality
ld derive little immediate satisfaction from this remarkable
nievement, for the 335,585 men taken off the beaches had
een forced to leave all of their heavy equipment behind them
nd there were pitifully inadequate replacements in Great Brit-
ain. It was at that point that the United States became th
decisive strategic factor in the war.

There could be no further doubt in the minds of Roosevelt or his Chiefs of Staff that, with virtually all of the British Army's equipment lost and with metropolitan France doomed, the survival of the United Kingdom and of any remnants of French power would depend on the extent of the supplies produced in and delivered from the United States. These supplies could be financed for the time being, a matter of a few months on the "cash and carry basis"; but when the last dollar of Britain's dwindling reserve had been spent Roosevelt would be faced with the choice of finding some other basis for furnishing aid (undoubtedly at the American taxpayers' expense) or of conceding victory to Germany.

On June 4, William Bullitt, the American Ambassador in Paris, had lunch with Pétain and reported to Roosevelt that the old Marshal had said that the British would permit the French to fight without help until the last available drop of French blood should have been shed and that then, with quantities of troops on British soil and plenty of planes and a dominant fleet, the British after a very brief resistance, or even without resistance, would make a peace of compromise with Hitler, which might even involve a British Government under a Brit ish Fascist leader.

However, on that same day, Churchill electrified the Britis people and most of the world with one of the greatest of his great speeches. He seldom imposed upon his listeners burden of having to read between his lines and one co

hardly misinterpret the exact meaning of these thundering words:

> We shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old

This was the great rallying cry for the slowly awakened people of Britain—who themselves had been afflicted with isolationism and complacency—and it was the first call for help from America Roosevelt made an attempt to answer it in his Charlottesville speech on June 10, the day that Italy entered the war. Timid souls in the State Department blanched with horror when, on his own initiative and without consultation with anyone, he inserted the words, "the hand that held the dagger has plunged it into the back of its neighbor" They felt that he was going much too far But he was all too well aware that he could not possibly go far enough In that same speech, he gave to the world a tremendous assurance, for which he had no Congressional authority but on which he eventually made good

> In our American unity, we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses, we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation, and, at the same time, we will harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense

This was the first pledge of aid to the "opponents of force"—the first proclamation of the policy which led to Lend Lease and to the all out production "without which, as Stalin said at Teheran, "this war would have been lost."

When news of Roosevelt's speech was broadcast to Premier Reynaud cabled his desperate appeal for "aid

terial support by all means short of an expeditionary force. But Roosevelt ultimately could offer in reply only assurances o "my utmost sympathy" and promise that the United State Government would not "recognize the results of conquest o territory acquired through military aggression." By means o some subtle and possibly questionable legal shenanigans worke out by Henry Morgenthau's lawyers in the Treasury Depar ment, about a hundred and fifty American war planes wei flown to Canada and there loaded aboard the French aircra carrier *Béarn,* but they never reached their destination; the and the carrier were at sea when France surrendered and the and a lot of useless French gold spent the war idly in tl Caribbean island of Martinique.

The day after the Charlottesville speech Churchill and Ede ade a sudden trip to France to confer with Reynaud an hers near Tours. Weygand told Churchill very bluntly th ance could no longer conduct what he called "co-ordinate ar." Reynaud was determined to continue the fight under ar d all circumstances and was supported vigorously by his ne nder Secretary for War, General Charles de Gaulle. Admir arlan was in favor of sending the French Fleet to Canada.

Years later, after the European war had ended, Édouard He ot was interviewed by the *New York Times* and he said th this occasion, June 11, 1940, Churchill had broken dow d wept like a child, but clenched his fists in fierce determin on and said that he almost hoped that Hitler would now tu attempt an attack on Britain and thus give Weygand portunity to stabilize the front on the Somme. Church omised that he would make more attempts to induce tl binet to send squadrons of R.A.F. fighter planes to Franc e said:

> Great Britain refuses to abandon the contest unless utterly crushe f the French army is obliged to stop fighting, England will carry n the hope that Hitler will be ruined by his very victories. With i airforce and its fleet, the British Empire can last out for years, and ca impose upon Europe the most stringent of blockades.

Churchill sent a full report of this meeting to Roosevelt. He said that the aged Marshal Pétain, who had been "none to

good" even in 1918, appeared to be now ready to negotiate an armistice with Hitler. On June 13, Roosevelt sent the following cable to Reynaud.

> I have been deeply moved by your message of June 10th. This government, as I have already stated to you and Mr. Churchill, is doing everything in its power to make available the material to the Allied Governments which they require so urgently and we are redoubling our efforts to do still more This is an expression of our support of and our faith in the ideals for which the Allied Governments are fighting The American people have been profoundly impressed by the magnificent resistance of the French and British armies I am impressed particularly by your declaration that France will fight on in behalf of democracy even though it means deliberate withdrawal, even to the Atlantic and North Africa It is of utmost importance to remember that the French and British Navies shall continue their mastery of the Atlantic and other oceans, and also to remember that all armies can be maintained only through supplies of vital materials from the outside world I have been greatly heartened also by what Mr Churchill said a few days ago pledging continued resistance by the British Empire and I am sure this determination applies equally to the great French Empire throughout the world As Admiral Darlan well knows, we can learn from history the importance of naval power in world affairs

Churchill cabled the President expressing his enthusiasm for this "magnificent" message and begged that it be made public so that the French and British people, and also the Germans, would fully appreciate the uncompromising position taken by the United States of America Roosevelt quickly replied through Kennedy that the Prime Minister had evidently misinterpreted his message. He emphasized the fact that, under the Constitution, he could make no commitments beyond the material aid already announced.

That same day, June 13, the day before the fall of Paris, Churchill again flew to France in a final effort to beg the French Government to fight it out on any and every line that could be established and, in the event of bitter necessity, to evacuate itself to North Africa and continue the war from there while the French Fleet merged with the Roy

Reynaud informed Churchill that it was hopeles fighting unless the British gave him more squadrc fighter planes.

ding to General Sir Hastings Ismay, Persona
the Prime Minister, "Before we left for the meeting
Air Marshal Dowding, Commander-in-Chief, Fighter
and, had given the Cabinet the most solemn warning that
more fighter squadrons were sent to France, he could not
antee the security of the British Isles." Some of Churchill's
ciates feared that he would not heed this warning because
his emotional attachment to France as well as his sense of
ligation to an Ally, but he refused Reynaud's request. When
e was told of Weygand's prediction, 'In three weeks Englan
will have her neck wrung like a chicken,' Churchill filed tho
words in the back of his mind for possible future reference.
Reynaud was thereupon compelled to yield to Marshal Petain
who immediately started to sue for a separate peace. When
urchill and his party had returned to London (flying, in-
dentally, over German-held territory) he sent a cable to Roose-
elt saying that France might still be saved by a Presidential
announcement that the United States would, if necessary, enter
the war. Roosevelt replied again that he could make no such
commitment, only Congress could make such a commitmen
Churchill was well aware of that but, in the moment of desper
tion, he was ready to try anything. He now knew that Britain
must fight alone and that the first phase of the coming decisive
campaign would be an all-out battle for control of the air over
England itself; the second phase would be fought on the waters
of the Channel, and Churchill repeated several times in cables
his hope that the President could arrange for the lease of
American destroyers to the British.

In the days while the venerable defeatist, Petain, was n
gotiating with Hitler, the cables between the White Ho
and Downing Street continued but now it was Roosevelt w
was asking most of the anxious questions. First, the Presi
wanted to know when Churchill expected that the Germa
tack against Britain would start. The answer was: in all
ability immediately. Then Roosevelt asked what would b
with the British Home Fleet in the event of successful G
invasion. He expressed the hope that the fleet would
posed among bases such Newfoundland, Aden, C

the institution of the Crown be continued regardless of the fate of the home islands. This request was not accepted. Queen Elizabeth said, "The Princesses could not leave without me—and I could not leave without the King—and, of course, the King will never leave."

There was a plan for the evacuation of London, worked out in utmost detail, according to which most of the government would move to Malvern, in the west of England. I do not know whether Churchill has ever committed himself as to his own personal opinion of this plan, but members of his staff at that time have expressed the conviction that he never had any intention of quitting London under any circumstances whatsoever. If the Nazis succeeded in taking London—which he was pleased to call "this Imperial City"—they would take him with it, or anything that might be left of him.

I cannot quote in full the cables that passed between Downing Street and the White House at this time because, although I have read them, they are not part of the Hopkins papers. Those from the British end made the following further points:

The only British hope of defeating Germany was in the retention of the United Kingdom itself as a base, and to that end every resource and every life would be directed. If the United Kingdom were conquered, and the fleet destroyed, then North and West Africa as well as Europe would inevitably fall under German domination. All that the British could do in the Mediterranean would be to deny the Germans use of the Suez Canal, not by defending but by destroying it. Germany would have a formidable naval striking force with the Italian Fleet and substantial units of the French Navy joined to her own. Furthermore, with all the shipyards of Western Europe at her disposal, Germany would have enormous naval productive power. Hitler's triumphs in Europe would undoubtedly stimulate the Japanese to acts of aggression against French Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies, thereby gaining for themselves bases for attacks on other points, including British and American territory. Churchill expressed the belief that the whole world situation could be greatly helped if the United States Government would proclaim that any violent

attempt to alter the status quo in the Far East would "produce a state of belligerence" or (toning it down a little) would "not be tolerated."

Roosevelt repeated (not once but several times) that, for constitutional reasons, he could not give any assurance that the United States would declare war no matter what the provocation, short of direct attack upon the United States itself. But he made it quite clear that if Britain fell his own purpose would be to do all that he possibly could—"more than mere words but short of war", for he knew that with Britain and her Navy gone all of our traditional concepts of security in the Atlantic Ocean—*the Monroe Doctrine, the principle of freedom of the seas*, the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere—would become mere memories, and the American people would be living constantly "at the point of a Nazi gun."

In the notes that he made for a speech at a secret session of the House of Commons on June 20, Churchill stated that if Britain could get through the next three months she could get through the next three years. He placed great stress upon superiority in air power and said that the issue depended primarily upon the outcome of the impending air Battle of Britain. He expressed the opinion that nothing would so stir the people of the United States as fighting in or over England. He felt that the best provocation to the American people to enter the war would be furnished by the heroic struggle of the British people. He paid tribute to Franklin Roosevelt and said that all depended upon the British people's maintaining a resolute bearing and holding out until the election issues were settled in America. (Although Churchill constantly warned his associates and the people in general against wishful thinking, he was humanly incapable of resisting the temptation to indulge himself in that agreeable vice now and then, neither, as I have said, was Roosevelt.)

With the signing of the Armistice in the forest of Compiègne, the British Government faced the problem of the French Navy. The decision was taken, "with aching hearts," to destroy all possible ships of this Navy which would not voluntarily join with the British or consent to move out of German reach and

his hands and ammunition in his belt. He felt much better. He felt, in fact, unbeatable.

When the Blitz was at its height, Churchill said in a secret-session speech

> The deployment of the enemy's invasion preparations and the assembly of his ships and barges are steadily proceeding, and at any moment a major assault may be launched on this island . . . Upwards of seventeen hundred self propelled barges and more than two hundred seagoing ships are already gathered at the many invasion ports. . . . I am confident that we shall succeed in defeating and largely destroying this most tremendous onslaught by which we are now threatened, and anyhow, whatever happens, we will all go down fighting to the end

It is perhaps a bit of unnecessarily grim speculation, but I believe there were some in England—and I should not be surprised if Churchill were one of them—who later regretted rather wistfully that Hitler never tried that invasion. As a member of the staff remarked later to Hopkins, "It would have been a hell of a fight" The British were deficient in modern weapons, but they had millions of antitank grenades, made with beer bottles containing TNT and sulphur, and they were literally spoiling for a chance to hurl them They knew that the President of the United States, however limited his and their means, was with them, at least in spirit This consideration was worth far more to their morale than the paper that it was not written on.

Thus, then, was Roosevelt's first tremendous wartime decision to back the seemingly hopeless cause of Britain with everything that he could possibly offer in the way of material and moral encouragement This decision was entirely on his own There was no time in his Presidential career when he met with so much opposition in his own official family or when his position in the country was less secure His two principal ambassadorial advisers, Bullitt in France and Kennedy in Britain, were bleakly defeatist about Britain's chances Bullitt, passionately pro-French, felt that the British had betrayed their allies because of Churchill's refusal to send the final R A F fighter strength to France Kennedy vehemently advised the

s done in Great Britain, so that we may steel ourselves for the als ahead which the American people do not fully understand

What can be done at this point by the citizens to bring about mediate American help to the Allies in every possible way? What n the citizens do to support and sustain the President's effort to organize and enlarge the armaments of the country without delay?

It seems to me that there is still a lethargy and inertia, which may onfuse and deaden our efforts, unless we hear quickly the clarion all, which only the President can give God grant that we are not lready too late!

Hodson was killed two and a half years later in the crash of Army airplane en route to North Africa where he was to ganize the first program of the United Nations Relief and habilitation Administration He had lived to see the war ch its turning point at Midway, El Alamein and Stalingrad t Roosevelt never clearly sounded "the clarion call" which dson and many others demanded, he waited until the Jap ese war lords sounded it for him. He has been criticized for s by many thoughtful people, including his most loyal "lieu nant," Henry L. Stimson Perhaps history will find him at lt for not having laid his cards on the table in 1940 or 1941, d demanded a showdown with Congress as to whether or not e United States should enter the war and fight I do not know out that I can only express the belief that had he done so would have been badly defeated and Germany and Japan be-een them would have conquered all of Europe and Asia cluding the Soviet Union, by 1942 I hesitate even to guess at the results of this would have been in the Western emisphere Not that it matters For better or for worse, history ver needs to be seriously concerned with what *might* have ppened Whatever Franklin Roosevelt might have done that did not do, the fact remains that the decisions he made in 940, on his own authority and without clarion calls, involved mmitment of the United States to the assumption of re onsibility for nothing less than the leadership of the world was a coincidence but an appropriate development of the ttern of history that Roosevelt should have proclaimed his cision at Charlottesville, Virginia, in the pr enius of Thomas Jefferson, who had boldly and

tragedy, and the refusal of the more sensational press (which was also the most vehemently isolationist section of the press) to allow him and his family to lead anything resembling a normal life, Lindbergh had lived for several years in Europe before the war. He had seen the flabby weakness of the England of Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain, and the chaotic disunity of France, and the apparent deficiency of Russian industry, as contrasted with the superb organization and regimentation of Hitler's and Goering's Germany which presented a model of efficiency to his technological mind. He was given every opportunity by Goering to study the building of the mighty Luftwaffe. Because he had an exceptional understanding of the power of machines—as opposed to the principles which animate free men—he came to the seemingly logical conclusion that Nazi Germany was invincible and that Britain, France, the United States and everybody else should wake up and, facing the facts of modern life, yield to "the wave of the future." A retiring and taciturn man by nature as well as by force of cruel circumstance, Lindbergh became a violent and extremely eloquent crusader for the cause of isolationism. He was undoubtedly Roosevelt's most formidable competitor on the radio.

When the Blitzkrieg in the West was at its height, Roosevelt asked the Congress for a program which would involve, among other things, the production of 50,000 war planes for the Army and Navy. He said:

> The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed, and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Lindbergh denounced this as "hysterical chatter," adding:

> We are in danger of war today, not because Europeans [illegible] attempted to interfere in our internal affairs, but because Amer[illegible] attempted to interfere in the internal affairs of Europe.
>
> Our dangers are internal. We need not fear inv[illegible]

Langner, a public-spirited New Yorker who divided his time between the practice of patent law and directing the Theatre Guild (Langner's proposal was for a National Inventor's Council to stimulate development of new weapons and equipment, and this was established).

Always receptive to new ideas that were both daring and big, Hopkins was immediately impressed with Bush's proposal and with Bush himself. There were certain points of resemblance between the two men Bush was also thin, quick, sharp and untrammeled in his thinking He knew what he was talking about and he stated it with brevity and, like Hopkins, with a good sprinkling of salt. He had prepared a succinct memorandum outlining his proposals Hopkins read it with approval and then arranged an appointment for Bush to talk with the President about it When Bush went to the White House he was prepared to answer all kinds of questions and meet probable objections, but he found that Roosevelt had already studied the memorandum with Hopkins after uttering a pleasantry or two, he wrote on it, "O.K.—F D R"—and Bush was out of the President's office a few moments after he had entered it

Subsequently Bush, in consultation with Hopkins, drafted a letter to himself for the President's signature That letter, with a few additions which provided for close co-operation between N D R.C. and the military authorities, was signed by Roosevelt on June 15, the day after the fall of Paris, when it seemed that Christian civilization was coming to an end. It was the day when Churchill sent his most desperate cable, asking the President to announce that the United States would, if necessary enter the war, and when Roosevelt made his discouraging reply to Reynaud. Included in that letter to Dr Bush were these words

> Recently I appointed a special committee, with Dr Briggs of the Bureau of Standards as Chairman, to study into the possible relationship to national defense of recent discoveries in the field of atomistics notably the fission of uranium I will now request that this committee report directly to you, as the function of your Committee includes this special matter, and your Committee may consider it advisable to support special studies on this subject . .

HE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JUN 15 1940

[illegible]

[illegible]

The National Academy of Sciences, and the National Research Council, were formed primarily to advise the agencies of government on scientific matters, when called upon for such service. They will, I feel sure, [illegible]

The National Bureau of Standards, and other government laboratories may well be able to carry on effectively some of the research which your Committee deems necessary.

[illegible]

Recently I appointed a special committee, with Dr. Briggs of the Bureau of Standards [illegible]

The Commissioner of Patents is considering plans for effectively evaluating, in cooperation with the Army and Navy, new ideas which may [illegible]

oosevelt's letter to Vannevar Bush, signed the day after the fall f Paris, in which he set up the organization leading development of the atomic bomb.

man of the Board on the Bill of Rights of the American Bar Association, a Republican and an old friend of Franklin Roosevelt's. At a private meeting during the days of Dunkirk, Clark came forth with the startling proposal that the nation must conscript its manpower. It was a supremely daring suggestion and a seemingly hopeless one at a time when young men all over the country were demonstrating against increased armament. Never before had the United States enacted a draft law until it was in a war and actually fighting. But Clark and his associates prepared the first draft of the Selective Service Bill and persuaded Senator Edward R. Burke, of Nebraska (one of the most isolationist of the States) and Representative James W. Wadsworth, a Republican from upstate New York, to sponsor the Bill in Congress. It was of course highly desirable to give it a bipartisan appearance, and the words "Selective Service" provided an effective euphemism. Clark made an appointment to see the President on May 31 to urge him to come out in favor of Selective Service and also to name Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War and Judge Robert P. Patterson as Under Secretary. This appointment did not come off. General Watson called Clark and told him that it was inconvenient for the President to see him at that time and that his appointment had been shifted to Harry Hopkins, who would be glad to talk with him. Clark, however, was afraid that Hopkins would merely advise him to call off the whole dangerous Selective Service project, at least until after the November election. Since Clark had no intention of retreating under any circumstances, he concluded it was best not to talk to Hopkins. Some three weeks later, Clark and Hopkins did meet and talked for two hours. Hopkins made no commitments on behalf of the President in support of Selective Service—this being an "irrevocable act" which Roosevelt wished to avoid until he was sure he could win the vote in the Congress—but Hopkins gave Clark his own personal encouragement and at least the intimation that Roosevelt would support the Bill when he felt that the time was right for him to do so. Indeed, Roosevelt by then had already decided on the appointments of Stimson and Patterson, two of the foremost champions of Selective Service.

This was one of Hopkins' first appearances in a role that was to become of major importance—the confidential contact man between Roosevelt and private citizens who were advocating some policy of which the President approved but which he did not want to advocate publicly for political reasons at the time. There was more than one occasion when Roosevelt wanted to be "attacked" for inactivity and thus "goaded" into action by public demand

In these same grim days at the end of May, Hopkins participated in the formation of the National Defense Advisory Commission, the parent of all the war production, food production, priorities and price control organizations. This was the beginning of the mobilization of manpower for civilian purposes as was Selective Service for the military. The N D A C. was composed of the following

William S Knudsen, Industrial Production
Sidney Hillman, Labor
Edward R Stettinius, Industrial Materials
Leon Henderson, Price Stabilization
Ralph Budd, Transportation
Chester C Davis (Grinnell '11), Farm Products
Dr. Harriet Elliott, Consumer Protection
William H McReynolds Secretary

Later, Donald M Nelson became associated as Co-ordinator of National Defense Purchases

It will be seen that there was no chairman. For the next year and a half Roosevelt was criticized bitterly for his failure to appoint any one man head of the production effort He steadfastly and perhaps stubbornly refused to do so until a month after Pearl Harbor I have never known what his real reasons were for this delay

There was some preliminary dispute as to just where the N D A C. would be placed in the government structure. The Under Secretary of Commerce, Edward J Noble, believed that it belonged logically in the Commerce Department, and I imagine that Hopkins was not opposed to having it under his own direction But the President decided that th[illegible] agency should be kept independent, placed in that lin

known as the Office of Emergency Management. Roosevelt thereby established the pattern for his war administration: the special war agencies were for the most part set up by themselves, apart from the permanent structure, with their Directors reporting to the President rather than to any Cabinet officer. Thus, the war agencies—or "defense agencies," as they were known in the euphemistic days before Pearl Harbor—formed a kind of government within a government. Roosevelt was criticized also for this, particularly by members of his own Cabinet who saw all that power and all those funds going to the new mushroom agencies. But Roosevelt's two main reasons for this policy are quite clear:

(1) The Congress was inclined to view with suspicion any increases in the authority, personnel and money of the permanent Departments—for it is traditional that once a new function gets into a permanent agency it is extremely difficult to get it out. Temporary agencies can simply be abolished when the emergency ends. For instance, there were logical arguments that the administration of price control be put in the permanent Securities Exchange Commission or war manpower in the Department of Labor; but Roosevelt knew that the Congress would be much more likely to support these highly unpopular measures if they were so segregated that they could be canceled at any time.

(2) Of greater importance was Roosevelt's conviction that the regular Departments were not geared to meet the extraordinary demands of war. Bound by convention, tradition, red tape and bureaucratic fear of irregularity, they moved at glacial pace—when the times demanded jet propulsion. The "career man" in government is inclined to consider the interests of his career above the immediate problems of any given moment, his cardinal principle being, "Never stick your neck out." In peacetime, patience is a requirement as well as a virtue in a civil servant who knows that haste makes waste and waste makes you liable to Congressional investigation; whereas, in wartime, impatience is essential. Impatience was rife in the temporary agencies which were run and staffed to a large extent by men

and women whose main concern was to do all they possibly could to help win the war in the shortest possible time and then "get the hell out of government service forever." Such temporary people, Republicans and Democrats alike, started swarming toward Washington as the German Panzers swarmed into France—and it must be admitted that some of them showed remarkable aptitude for picking up the petty jealousies and wranglings and wanglings that sometimes beset bureaucracy Harold Smith, wartime Director of the Bureau of the Budget, talked to me years later of Roosevelt's method of handling these emergency problems in administration, and said·

> The President was the only one who really understood the meaning of the term *total war* and the necessity for it The others believed you could fight a war with one hand and carry on domestic business pretty much as usual with the other Roosevelt saw the Cabinet officers not as members of his own staff but as theater commanders, each with his own special area, interests, problems and demands You couldn t expect any one of them to see the picture whole, as the President had to do That is where Hopkins became so valuable after he left the Department of Commerce Hopkins sole job was to see everything from the President's point of view He was bound by no preconceived notions, no legal inhibitions and he certainly had absolutely no respect for tradition

Smith expressed the belief that if Roosevelt had had ample time to prepare for war—and the authority to do so—he might have reorganized the Departments to meet the emergency, which would certainly have involved some drastic changes in personnel But there was not ample time and Roosevelt had to improvise as best he could

In *Arsenal of Democracy*, Donald Nelson wrote

> But let's think back to that June of 1940 Who among us, except the President of the United States, really saw the magnitude of the job ahead, the awful mission of the United States in a world running berserk? I can testify that all the people I met and talked to, including members of the General Staff, the Army and Navy s highest ranking officers, distinguished statesmen and legislators, thought of the defense program as only a means of equipping ourselves to keep the enemy away from the shores of the United States None of
> that I know of, except the President—saw that we mi[illegible]

Germany and Japan all over the world. He took his stand against the advice of some of this country's best minds, but his foresight was superior to theirs, and this foresight saved us all.

Hopkins was certainly one of the many who had no comprehension of total war, but he was beginning to learn from Roosevelt, as he indicated in a press conference near the end of May. Asked by Nicholas Gregory of the *New York Herald Tribune*, what he thought of the war situation in general, as it affected the United States, he replied:

> We cannot go on sitting here and saying that the war is so many miles away and we do not need to worry about it because we are a rich country and it will not affect us or our economic life. We cannot get ourselves into an economic vacuum here. We must get realistic, and put our minds on it, and decide what we are going to do and then make every move necessary to carry out that decision.

Mr. Hermann, of *The American Banker,* asked, "Just how far can we project that?"

Hopkins replied, "To any point you want to put it—just as far as you want to go."

Mr. Hermann then started to ask, "Even if—"

Hopkins did not permit him to finish saying, "—if it means our getting into the war?" He interposed:

> Hell, I mean the tough implications! Suppose that Germany wins the war in the next two months and does on the economic fronts what they have done on the military fronts. What will they do in South America presuming they win, and then, what are we going to do about it? Or—suppose this war lasts two or three years. What effect is that going to have on the economy of this country? This is not a matter of sitting down at the dinner table and talking about it . . . I belong to the school that does not talk about things—you *do* them.

Hopkins now began to acquire experience in war production and allocation, subjects with which he was to gain so much familiarity in so little time. He became closely associated with Major General James H. Burns, of the Army Ordnance Department, and this association remained throughout Lend Lease, the Victory production program, the program of aid for the Soviet Union and the work of the Munitions Assignment Board. John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War under Stim-

son, has written of Burns, "He gave inspiration and impetus to the program in a manner for which he forever deserves well of his country." Burns was what Hopkins liked most—a "doer" —and he worked fast Early in June there was a conference between Knudsen, Louis Johnson and Burns at which Knudsen —the able, genial automotive production man, with no experience in weapons—kept asking, "How many pieces do you want?" The word 'pieces" referred to such items as heavy bombers, bullets, paratroop boots, tanks, etc. The Army's estimates on everything had been so deliberately timid and modest, because of the fear of ever asking for more than a minimum, that the sudden rush of Congressional appropriations caught its officers unprepared They did not know how many "pieces" But Hopkins advised Burns to ask for everything. Working with his staff incessantly for twenty-four hours, Burns produced a new program which included provision for, among other things, construction of the 50,000 war planes for which the President had asked This program was rushed through the General Staff and presented to Knudsen within two days after he had requested it

It is difficult to exaggerate the bewilderment and frenzied uncertainty that prevailed in Washington in those days It was ridiculous, in a way, and in a way it was intensely inspiring, it presented the concentrated picture of a great people groping, without direction, for the opportunity of service Among the many patriotic industrialists called to Washington was Robert T. Stevens, one of the country's leading textile manufacturers When he arrived he had only the vaguest idea of his duties but Donald Nelson told him, "Look around in the War and Navy Departments and find out what their requirements are in textiles and figure out a way to meet them' Stevens found out about the needs for uniforms, blankets, blackout curtains, etc., which required no special talents, and then he began to think that perhaps he was called upon for the exercise of his own imagination. Trying to consider every phase of war activity that might involve the use of textiles he thought of parachutes. It then occurred to him that with French and Italian man of silk closed to us, our only source was Japan and

right or wrong—he had to take action, in the national interest, and he took it His personal position was far weaker than at any other time in the New Deal or war years. Whatever unity and harmony and even loyalty there had been in his Administration was to a serious degree disrupted by the third term issue and the selection of the Vice-Presidential nominee. During the most critical weeks of May and June, it was not known whether Roosevelt would run again or, if he did, whether he would be able to overcome the obstacles of isolationist sentiment and of popular respect for the tradition established by George Washington and solidified by Thomas Jefferson.

Outside of the Service Departments—which, as has been said, were at the time in enfeebled condition—the Treasury was the only one that was functioning on an emergency basis Indeed, in his prolonged dealings with the French and British Purchasing Commissions, and in his promotion of aid for China, Henry Morgenthau had been exercising some of the most vital functions of the War Department and even of the *State Department, not by a process of usurpation, but by default.*

In mid-June, Roosevelt was bitterly attacked from both sides of the political fence when he appointed Stimson and Frank Knox, both distinguished Republicans, to serve as Secretaries of War and Navy Both men had expressed themselves very vigorously in favor of Roosevelt's foreign policy and in opposition to the isolationist tendencies of their own party Indeed Stimson, as Secretary of State under Hoover, had laid the foundation for that policy when he advocated collective resistance to the first act of Fascist aggression, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 Stimson had been much too far ahead of his time in a timorous, shortsighted world, and Roosevelt admired him all the more for that Knox, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, had run as Vice-Presidential nominee with Landon against Roosevelt four years previously and had been one of the hardest-hitting critics of the New Deal, but he had also been a fellow Rough Rider and lifelong friend of Theodore Roosevelt and, as such, capable of unor
Both Stimson and Knox had held the rank of colon

First World War and both could recognize national peril when they saw it.

When Roosevelt called Knox on the long distance telephone and invited him to take over the Navy Department, Knox accepted but expressed the conviction that it would be unwise to make announcement of it until after the Republican Convention, which was then about to assemble in Philadelphia. He said that he wanted to attend this convention and fight for a nonisolationist policy and a nonisolationist candidate, Wendell Willkie, which would obviously be in the national interest for it would remove this highly dangerous issue from the campaign. Roosevelt replied that it was all important that the announcement be made *before* the Convention, for the following reasons:

The entry of Knox into the Cabinet must be publicly recognized for what it was—an act of pure patriotism, animated by the belief that the conduct of the whole defense effort and of foreign policy in general should be placed above all partisan considerations. This would be difficult if not impossible if Knox waited until after the Convention when the issue was joined. If the Republican party espoused an isolationist policy and nominated an isolationist candidate, then his entry into the Democratic Administration would be interpreted as an act of disgruntlement and bad sportsmanship. If, on the other hand, Willkie and the nonisolationists won out at Philadelphia, Knox could hardly desert with good grace the candidate and principles he had fought for, and thus his services would be denied to the President at this critical time.

Stimson, also notified by telephone, indicated his acceptance under certain stringent conditions, the chief of which was that all traces of the warring factions in the War Department be eliminated and that Grenville Clark's proposal of Robert P. Patterson be approved. Roosevelt agreed.

Announcement of the appointment of these two public-spirited men was made on the eve of the Philadelphia Convention and it brought roars of protest from leading Republican politicians, who charged a "double cross" and demanded that Stimson and Knox be "read out of the party." Farley and other

leading Democratic politicians decried the appointments as a betrayal of party regularity. Ickes was angry because he wanted to be Secretary of War himself.

It is impossible to exaggerate the extent to which Stimson and Knox strengthened Roosevelt's hand in dealing with the immediate problems of 1940 and the longer-range problems of aid to Britain and the building up of our armed forces, as well as in the eventual fighting of the war Of the two men, Stimson bore appreciably heavier responsibilities because of the President's predilection for the Navy. Stimson, with General Marshall at his side, had to start very close to scratch in the creation of a gigantic Army and Air Force establishment He surrounded himself with civilian aides of remarkable ability—the Under Secretary, Judge Patterson, and Assistant Secretaries, John J McCloy and Robert A Lovett Knox was similarly wise and fortunate in the selection of his Under Secretary and (in 1944) successor, James Forrestal None of these men was naturally sympathetic with the New Deal philosophy Undoubtedly most of them never changed in their antipathy to Roosevelt's domestic policies; even so, they provided a memorable example of devotion and of superb capability in the service of the Roosevelt Administration in wartime.

The Chief of Staff of the Army, General Marshall, and the Chief of Naval Operations, Harold R Stark, had been appointed by Roosevelt shortly before the outbreak of the European war in 1939, and had been his advisers on all matters relating to world strategy Both of them were military philosophers, possessed of the long view on major problems, and both had the sense of statesmanship that enabled them to consider the political as well as purely military aspects of the global situation Stark had been on duty in the Navy Department most of the time during the prewar years, particularly as Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance He had exceptional qualities as a staff officer, but lacked the quickness and the ruthlessness of decision required in wartime and, after Pearl Harbor, he was relieved by Admiral Ernest J King, who lacked neither Stark served out the war most faithfully and usefully in L[illegible]n, as

New Deal. Most of the widely syndicated columnists were with him, although there were exceptions, notably the increasingly intemperate General Hugh S. Johnson Leading Republican newspapers, such as the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Boston Herald*, the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Des Moines Register*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which had been among his severest critics on domestic issues, now gave wholehearted approval to his measures of aid for Britain The great American foreign correspondents had for years been warning of the menace of German and Japanese imperialism There was no group in or out of government who had been so consistently accurate in their estimates. Now it was possible to broadcast their warnings all over the country and the voices of Edward R. Murrow and Fred Bate from London, William L Shirer from Berlin, Elmer Davis from New York, Raymond Gram Swing from Washington, among many others, did much to strengthen Roosevelt's position.

Organizations of private citizens began to become active in the mobilization of public opinion The largest of these had started on a small scale in September, 1939, when various members of the League of Nations Association got together to form a committee to support Roosevelt's request for repeal of the [illegible] of this "Non-Partisan [illegible] the Neutrality Law' [illegible] widely beloved Kansan, William Allen White, whom no one could accuse of being a tool of British Imperialism or of the New Deal A stanch Republican and admiring biographer of Calvin Coolidge, White was also one of the great friends and private counselors of Franklin D Roosevelt After Congress had repealed the arms embargo, the first White Committee was dissolved, its object having been achieved, but it was revived in May, 1940, and was called the "Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies" It was the first organization to combat isolationism on a national scale White certainly was no interventionist and it is significant of the spirit of the times that he stipulated that the Committee should accept "no munition-makers' mone[illegible]o international bankers' money, and no money from the [illegible]

terests"—these being the interests which were popularly supposed to impel nations to war. White had written when the Phony War was in its last stages:

What an avalanche of blunders Great Britain has let loose upon the democracies of the world! The old British lion looks mangy, sore-eyed. He needs worming and should have a lot of dental work. He can't even roar. Unless a new government takes the helm in Britain, the British empire is done. These are sad words to say, but the truth is the truth.

Early in May, White was urging aid for Britain because, with the British Fleet intact, "we could have two years in which to prepare for the inevitable attack of the totalitarian powers upon our democracy, which must come unless Great Britain wins this war." When a new government did take the helm in Britain, White came forth as one of its firmest and most valuable friends.

Father Coughlin wrote of the White Committee in his journal, *Social Justice:*

Like thieves who operate under the cover of night, there are in ou[r] midst those who operate beneath the cloak of protected auspices t[o] steal our liberty, our peace and our autonomy. . . . "The Committ[ee] to Defend America by Aiding the Allies" is a high-sounding na[me] composed of high-handed gentlemen who are leaving no stone [un]turned to throw everything precious to an American to the dog[s of] war. . . . Sneakingly, subversively and un-Americanly hiding be[hind] a sanctimonious stuffed shirt named William Allen White, these form the most dangerous fifth column that ever set foot upon n[ational] soil. They are the Quislings of America. They are the Judas Is[cariots] within the apostolic college of our nation.

They are the gold-protected, Government-protected, forei[gn-pro]tected snakes in the grass who dare not stand upright and sp[eak to] men face to face.

With such tributes as that, the White Committee s[oon had] chapters operating vigorously in all the States and was [heard] on coast-to-coast radio broadcasts by such public f[igures as] President James B. Conant, of Harvard, Henry R. [Luce, the] publisher, and Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, the mother[-in-law of] Colonel Lindbergh. My own first contribution to the [Committee] was a full-page advertisement, under the headline "[STOP HIT]LER NOW," which was published in newspapers

country on June 10, the day Italy entered the war. This advertisement was given public endorsement by President Roosevelt (whom I did not then know) and evoked the sneering question "Stop Hitler? With What?" from Dr. Joseph Goebbels in Berlin. I made the somewhat strong statement in this advertisement that "Anyone who argues that the Nazis will considerately wait until we are ready [to go to war] is either an imbecile or a traitor." This subjected William Allen White to many protests including one from his friend, Oswald Garrison Villard, who wrote that he and millions like him felt there was no danger to the United States and "we are just as loyal, just as sincere, and just as earnest Americans as Sherwood or anybody else." White was impressed with these protests and ticked me off for having gone too far. But it was not long before such epithets as mine were commonplace. The great debate was on and it surged and seethed and was brought to an end only by the Japanese bombs on Pearl Harbor.

In the more violent isolationist arguments was the ugly undercurrent of accusation that what the country faced was a Jewish plot to get us into war. Lindbergh eventually brought this out into the open with his statement that the only people who favored American intervention were the Roosevelt family, the British and the Jews. Obviously, the Jewish community had ample reason to be anti-Nazi, but it was by no means unanimous in opposition to isolationism. There were Jews, particularly on the upper economic levels, who supported the America First Committee because their fear of anti-Semitism in America far transcended their resentment of Nazi barbarism in Europe, and there were some Jews who were just as ready as anyone else to "do business" with a victorious Hitler.

The strength of the White Committee was that it could not be successfully attacked as "un-American," although there were many like Father Coughlin who tried to do so. It could be identified with no group or faction or partisan interest; in fact most of its founders were, like White himself, Republicans. It was bitterly assailed by the Communists from the left as well as by the Fascist "lunatic fringe" organizations on the extreme right. Thus, it enjoyed a certain
the mass of the American people

The White Committee and its numerous offshoots—notably the Fight For Freedom Committee—never dented the hard core of American isolationism, but they did exert an effect on the thinking of millions who were neither isolationist nor interventionist and they helped immeasurably to promote popular acceptance of Selective Service, the destroyers-for-bases deal and Lend Lease. Most importantly, this Committee, because of its bipartisan nature, acted as an unofficial liaison channel between the rival political camps of Roosevelt and Willkie for the achievement of agreement on the development of foreign policy.

Here indeed, in the field of American politics, were some of the most important consequences of the German Blitzkrieg: it brought about the nomination of Wendell Willkie, instead of a Republican isolationist; it provided the final push that was needed to impel Roosevelt to run for a third term; it was by all odds the most important factor in Roosevelt's re-election.

CHAPTER VIII

The Third Term Campaign

THE question has often been asked: just when did Roosevelt finally and definitely decide to seek a third term? So far as I know, that question will never be answered authoritatively. One may speculate endlessly and fruitlessly as to what went on in that mysterious mind. It is safe to say that, if there had been no international crises, he would not have run, but one might as well say that, if there had been no flood, Noah would never have elected to land on the top of Mount Ararat. Anyone who watched Roosevelt closely would know that in all matters relating to politics he had most acute powers of calculation and he used them with utmost care and finesse. It is true that he burned his fingers badly on the Supreme Court packing issue when, following his smashing victory in the 1936 election, he

The White Committee and its numerous offshoots—notably the Fight For Freedom Committee—never dented the hard core of American isolationism, but they did exert an effect on the thinking of millions who were neither isolationist nor interventionist and they helped immeasurably to promote popular acceptance of Selective Service, the destroyers-for-bases deal and Lend Lease. Most importantly, this Committee, because of its bipartisan nature, acted as an unofficial liaison channel between the rival political camps of Roosevelt and Willkie for the achievement of agreement on the development of foreign policy.

Here indeed, in the field of American politics, were some of [illegible]ost important consequences of the German Blitzkrieg; it [illegible] about the nomination of Wendell Willkie, instead of [illegible]can isolationist, it provided the final push that was [illegible]o impel Roosevelt to run for a third term; it was by all [illegible]e most important factor in Roosevelt's re-election.

CHAPTER VIII

The Third Term Campaign

THE question has often been asked: just when did Roosevelt finally and definitely decide to seek a third term? So far as I know, that question will never be answered authoritatively. One may speculate endlessly and fruitlessly as to what went on in that mysterious mind. It is safe to say that, if there had been no international crises, he would not have run; but one might as well say that, if there had been no flood, Noah would never have elected to land on the top of Mount Ararat. Anyone who watched Roosevelt closely would know that in all matters relating to politics he had most acute powers of calculation and he used them with utmost care and finesse. It is true that he burned his fingers badly on the Supreme Court packing issue when, following his smashing victory in the 1936 election, he suffered from an excess of overconfidence, and his exasperation

CHAPTER VIII

The Third Term Campai

THE question has often been asked: just when did Roosevel finally and definitely decide to seek a third term? So far as know, that question will never be answered authoritatively One may speculate endlessly and fruitlessly as to what went o in that mysterious mind. It is safe to say that, if there had bee no international crises, he would not have run; but one migh as well say that, if there had been no flood, Noah would neve have elected to land on the top of Mount Ararat. Anyone wh watched Roosevelt closely would know that in all matters re lating to politics he had most acute powers of calculation an he used them with utmost care and finesse. It is true that he burned his fingers badly on the Supreme Court packing issue when, following his smashing victory in the 1936 election, he

The White Committee and its numerous offshoots—notably the Fight For Freedom Committee—never dented the hard core of American isolationism, but they did exert an effect on the thinking of millions who were neither isolationist nor interventionist and they helped immeasurably to promote popular acceptance of Selective Service, the destroyers-for-bases deal and Lend Lease. Most importantly, this Committee, because of its bipartisan nature, acted as an unofficial liaison channel between the rival political camps of Roosevelt and Willkie for the achievement of agreement on the development of foreign policy.

Here indeed, in the field of American politics, were some of the most important consequences of the German Blitzkrieg; it brought about the nomination of Wendell Willkie, instead of a Republican isolationist; it provided the final push that was needed to impel Roosevelt to run for a third term; it was by all ds the most important factor in Roosevelt's re-election.

CHAPTER VIII

The Third Term Campaign

THE question has often been asked: just when did Roosevelt finally and definitely decide to seek a third term? So far as I know, that question will never be answered authoritatively. One may speculate endlessly and fruitlessly as to what went on in that mysterious mind. It is safe to say that, if there had been no international crises, he would not have run; but one might as well say that, if there had been no flood, Noah would never have elected to land on the top of Mount Ararat. Anyone who watched Roosevelt closely would know that in all matters relating to politics he had most acute powers of calculation and he used them with utmost care and finesse. It is true that he burned his fingers badly on the Supreme Court packing issue when, following his smashing victory in the 1936 election, he suffered from an excess of overconfidence, and his exasperation

. . . . burn his fingers . . . ences had a very . . . ; overcautious in his handling of issues arising from the calamitous world situation The third term was such an issue and he studied it from every conceivable angle, and most of all in relation to his own position in history, a subject of supreme importance to him and one of which he was rarely forgetful It seemed in the spring and early summer of 1940 that he would have little to gain in the way of glory from four more years in the White House, whereas he might have a vast amount to lose He had already been by any standards one might apply a memorable President He firmly believed that the New Deal achievement would stand out on the record as a remarkable one, but, now, the New Deal was no longer new or exciting or urgent and all the signs indicated that it must yield at least temporarily to a phase of reaction. Indeed, from 1938 on, it became evident that if Roosevelt should run again on purely domestic issues he would be none too sure of winning the election and, if he did win, he would face the reasonable certainty of a Congress determined to block him at every turn and at last possessed of the power to do so It was a bleak prospect and, although Roosevelt never revealed his innermost thinking on this to any man, I feel sure that for a long time he was determined to avoid it In this, I am speaking of a third *consecutive* term There was another possibility that, I believe, was not absent from Roosevelt's mind. From chance remarks that he made to various friends, it would seem that he contemplated the possibility that, after four years of retirement, and of conceivably blundering mismanagement of the public interests by a reactionary Congress and a reactionary Administration in Washington, he might be called back to run for a third term in 1944 But he was in no hurry to cross that remote bridge until and if he should come to it

All of this thinking, I repeat, was based solely on domestic considerations, and these became of less and less especially to Roosevelt himself, after Munich. It w the third term issue began to come out into the o Cabinet officer who brought it out first was Harol

ing gone to Europe during the summer of 1938—he was on his honeymoon there following his second marriage, which took place in Dublin—Ickes had talked with Chamberlain, Churchill and Attlee in England and then gone on to France. He has told me:

> Everywhere I went, I heard the same thing: "war is inevitable"—"war is imminent." It was Mrs. Ickes' first visit to France and she was enchanted with it, and when we sailed away and looked back at that lovely coastline she said sadly that we might never see it again—or, if we did, it might not still be France, it might be a province of Germany. During the voyage home, I thought hard about this war prospect and about the Presidential election in 1940. I considered in my mind the whole field of candidates and I came to the conclusion there was only one man big enough to handle the world situation: Roosevelt. When I got home, I came out for a third term and I went right on urging it at every opportunity. The President did not give me one word of encouragement on this. But he also did not tell me to stop. I was then the only one in the Cabinet for Roosevelt. Most of the others were candidates themselves—Hopkins, Hull, Farley, Wallace, Garner—you couldn't throw a brick in any direction without hitting a candidate.

As I have said in a previous chapter, Hopkins was publicly urging a third term in June, 1939, despite the determined opposition to it of Mrs. Roosevelt. Farley has recorded his own vigorous opposition to it—and Hull's and Garner's—and has stated that the President told him in the summer of 1939, "*Of course I will not run for a third term.*" (The italics are Farley's.) I cannot question Farley's accuracy or Roosevelt's sincerity. However, Roosevelt's intention (at that time) not to run himself certainly did not imply any lack of interest in the selection of his successor. Farley quotes Garner as having said at about the same time, "Jim, the two of us can pull together to stop Roosevelt," and there can be no doubt that Roosevelt was determined to stop the two of them from gaining control of the Democratic party for he believed they represented the forces of reaction and isolationism. Farley has often protested that his antipathy to a third term was based on his respect for the sanctity of tradition, and no doubt this is true—but he may have had other reasons in mind and one of them may have been the fact

that both he and Roosevelt were natives of New York State. The Constitution provides that candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency should not come from the same State. Since Farley, on his own admission, was not entirely indifferent to his chances of winning the nomination as candidate for President or, failing that, for Vice President, it is obvious that he was personally concerned in preventing Roosevelt from becoming again the Democratic candidate.

Any politician as knowledgeable as Farley must have been fully aware that there was no real possibility that Garner could be nominated and elected, but Garner, with the Texas delegation solid for him, would be an important factor in the Democratic Convention and it is quite plain that, with Roosevelt out of the picture, Farley planned to swing the Garner strength to the support of Hull for President and himself for Vice President The great question was how to get Roosevelt out of the picture? That proved to be a problem that neither Farley nor anyone else could solve

The outbreak of the European War gave Roosevelt a legitimate reason to declare a moratorium on all political discussions involving himself for the time being Impenetrable silence on this subject then settled down about the White House and, at press conferences, whenever a reporter asked the President about his third term intentions, Roosevelt would tell him, in effect, or in so many words, to go stand in the corner I do not know to what extent these matters may have been discussed between Roosevelt and Hopkins, who was bedridden throughout this period It is doubtful that Roosevelt ever went to see Hopkins, for the Hopkins house in Georgetown was tiny and the stairs very narrow and steep But Hopkins was in touch with Roosevelt's state of mind through frequent telephone calls and visits from Mrs Roosevelt and Marguerite LeHand, "Missy," who had been Roosevelt's trusted secretary for many years I know that Roosevelt was then teeming with plans for his re[illegible]
1941 he was going back to Hyde Park to work on
among other things, and Hopkins was to go with
laborate on the history of the New Deal. The
Roosevelt Library, Inc, had already been set up at

arranged with Frank Walker, treasurer of the Library Committee, that Hopkins be given a job there. Incidentally, when [illegible] heard of these plans from Roosevelt, he knew that the [illegible] for President in 1940 boom had ended—Walker having been one of the very few of Roosevelt's confidants who knew the part the President was playing in promoting this boom.
On January 22, 19[illegible], Hopkins told me he was virtually cer-
that Roosevelt would decide to run for a third term, but
e months later, April 23, he expressed grave doubts about it.
said then that the President seemed disinclined to do any-
ıg about the nomination or to permit any of his friends to
anything, which would have meant that it would go to
Farley faction by default. (Hopkins himself was, of course,
ıpletely out of the running by this time.) Hopkins asked me
really believed Roosevelt should run. I answered that I con-
ered it was his duty to run. He then asked me what were my
sons for this conviction, and I made the obvious answers: the
ited States was the only power that could prevent the world
m going to hell, and Roosevelt was the only man with the
sonal strength and prestige as well as intelligence to lead the
ited States in the way it should go. Hopkins then said to me,
wish you'd sit down and write all of that to the President, emphasizing the 'duty' part of it."

"But," I said, "he'd pay no attention to a letter from me. He wouldn't even read it."

"You'd be surprised," said Hopkins, "how many letters from private citizens he does read and how seriously he takes some of them."

Hopkins urged me to persuade the greatest possible number of my friends who felt as I did to write similar letters to the President, and I did so. These letters were not acknowledged, even by the customary note from a secretary saying, "The President has directed me to express his appreciation . . ." etc. I doubt that any or all of them exerted the slightest influence on Roosevelt's final decision. Farley has written that it was sometime after May 17 that he began to believe that Roosevelt had made up his mind; Edward J. Flynn, another professional Democratic politician, has said much the same thing. Pending the

appearance of further evidence (which is always possible but, I should judge, highly unlikely) it may be assumed that it was Hitler and Mussolini—and also Churchill—who made up Roosevelt's mind for him. Had the Phony War still continued, with no sign of a break—or, after it did break, had the British Government advised the White House that it must sue for peace in the event of the fall of France—then nothing but overinflated personal vanity could have induced Roosevelt to seek a third term. Granted that Roosevelt had his full share of personal vanity—no man would run for President of the United States in the first place without it—he also had the ability to form a highly realistic estimate of the odds against him and, taking the most cynical view of the prospect, and leaving all questions of patriotic duty out of it, he would best serve the interests of his own present prestige and his ultimate place in history by retiring gracefully before the storm broke and thereby leaving the reaping of the whirlwind to his successor However, as long as Britain held out, and as long as there remained a chance that German victory might be prevented, Roosevelt wanted to stay in the fight and sincerely believed that there was none among all the available candidates as well qualified to aid in the prevention as he

On May 10, the day of the attack on the Low Countries, Hopkins went to his office in the Commerce Department—and, as nearly as I can make out, this was the second time he had appeared there in ten months That evening he went to dinner at the White House He was feeling miserable and Roosevelt prevailed on him to stay there overnight He remained, living in what had been Lincoln's study, for three and a half years Later, Missy LeHand remarked, 'It was Harry Hopkins who gave George S Kaufman and Moss Hart the idea for that play of theirs, The Man Who Came To Dinner ' From then on, his work was done in his room at the White House After breakfast in the morning and after dinner in the evening and at odd times during the day he talked with the President about the shocking cables that were coming in from Europe, Hopkins undoubtedly had little real understanding of the full import c

Roosevelt was teaching him. On Sundays the

search them in vain, for any evidence of foresight as to what has happened, for a single proposal which was sought, in advance of the Administration, to strengthen the national defense The speeches of Messrs Taft and Dewey during these critical months make Mr Neville Chamberlain seem like a far-sighted and strong statesman

This was precisely the kind of support from sober authority that Willkie needed Luckily, the old Republican steam roller proved to be a rusty, rattletrap vehicle, directed by "sleepwalkers," and the Willkie forces prevailed, backed as they were by the unmistakably spontaneous enthusiasm of the more independent Republican voters for the rugged, untrammeled and picturesque candidate

Roosevelt considered Willkie the most formidable opponent for himself that the Republicans could have named Willkie had the glamor which previous Republican opponents had so conspicuously lacked What is more, Willkie had no previous political record to attack as did those who, for isolationist reasons, had opposed every move toward national defense Nevertheless, despite Roosevelt's respect for Willkie as a dangerous competitor, he considered this nomination a 'Godsend to the country," for it tended to remove the isolationist-interventionist issue from the campaign (at least, until the final days) and thereby prevented the splitting of the people into two embittered factions It guaranteed to the rest of the world—and particularly to the warring nations—a continuity of American foreign policy regardless of the outcome of the election The importance of this consideration could hardly be overestimated To begin with, Willkie came out in favor of Selective Service, thereby eliminating that extremely controversial issue

Another important issue came up—the destroyers deal. As we have seen, Churchill had first told Roosevelt of Britain's desperate need for destroyers in a cable written five days after he became Prime Minister After the fall of France, Joseph Alsop, the Washington columnist, urg
use all his influence in support of the
U.S destroyers of First World War vint
that without such naval reinforcement B
to hold the Channel against invasion

for American aid—and not merely part of a sordid "deal." He had to yield on this, but he insisted that the two most important bases, Bermuda and Newfoundland, should remain free gifts, apart from the deal, "generously given and gladly received"—an academic point, as it turned out.

The progress of these secret negotiations—announced to the Congress as an accomplished fact on September 3—was known to Wendell [illegible] (through William All[illegible] campaign issue of Ro[illegible] criticism was on the ground that the transfer of fifty over-age destroyers was not nearly enough aid for Britain, which was very different from the criticisms which might have been heard had the Republican nominee been, for instance, Senator Taft. As it was, isolationists accused Roosevelt of having taken the first, long, treasonous step toward delivering the United States back into the British Empire, but the American people as a whole were not greatly interested, for by the time the deal was announced, the air Battle of Britain had started and the swapping of a few old destroyers for a few dots on the map seemed a relatively trivial matter.

The agreements between Roosevelt and Willkie on foreign affairs were strictly circumscribed and even those went by the board before the campaign ended. Otherwise, Willkie was loudly and vigorously out for the kill. Even before his nomination, he [illegible]

Champ!'" A shrewder politician would not have said that. The people interpreted Willkie literally as saying, 'The hell with the third term tradition. Let's make this a *real* fight!' That dramatized the contest—made it an exciting sporting event—and the more popular excitement there was in a campaign, the better it always was for Roosevelt. When Roosevelt agreed to run, people took it not so much as violation of a tradition as acceptance of a challenge to an old-fashioned bare-knuckled slugfest.

The Democratic Convention opened in Chicago on July 15

Previous to it, there were meetings at the White House of pro-Roosevelt (which meant anti-Farley) Cabinet officers and Congressional and party leaders to discuss ways and means. Roosevelt was urged to put in an appearance at the Convention himself, but refused. When asked about strategy and organization of his supporters as opposed to the Farley faction, he seemed rather vague, saying only that the Convention should have its own way and he would accept its verdict. Everyone knew of course that if the Roosevelt forces did not control the Convention, Farley would. At one of the meetings Roosevelt was asked, "Suppose at some point we want to know your directions on strategy—whom do we ask?" Roosevelt thought for a moment and then replied, "In that event, if I were you, I'd consult Jimmy Byrnes." However, when Secretaries Frances Perkins, Ickes, Wallace and the rest arrived in Chicago they found, to the dismay of some of them, that Roosevelt headquarters had already been firmly established in a Blackstone Hotel suite by Harry Hopkins. Here was the Chicago end of the private line to the White House (This telephone was in the bathroom, the only place where privacy could be assured.) The Farley offices—which would normally have been Democratic National Headquarters—were across the street in the Stevens Hotel, which made it convenient for the bewildered leaders of the State delegations, reducing the distance that they had to walk going fron one rival headquarters to the other to receive their conflictin instructions. Be it said that most if not all of these local leade greatly preferred Farley to Hopkins, whom they considered t kingpin of the left-wing New Dealers and therefore the avow enemy of the regular Democratic organization. Their chief c plaint against the New Dealers was that they were poli amateurs with no knowledge of or respect for the sacred t tions of party regularity. As Edward J. Flynn has written, " of the appointments in Washington went to men who supporters of the President and believed in what he was to do, but who were not Democrats in many instances, an instances were not organization Democrats." (e.g.—S Knox, Fiorello La Guardia, William S. Knudsen, Felix John G. Winant, etc.)

Hopkins carried in his pocket three penciled paragraphs in Roosevelt's handwriting on a sheet of yellow, ruled paper. It was addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, William B Bankhead, Temporary Chairman of the Convention It read

DEAR WILL—

When you speak to the Convention on Monday evening will you say something for me which I believe ought to be made utterly clear?

You and my other close friends have known and understood that I have not today and have never had any wish or purpose to remain in the office of President, or indeed anywhere in public office after next January.

You know and all my friends know that this is a simple and sincere fact I want you to repeat this simple and sincere fact to the Convention

To the best of my knowledge, that is the only instruction that Roosevelt put in writing before the Convention There was a change of plan on this, the message was not delivered by Bankhead on the first day, Monday, but by Senator Alben W Barkley, the Permanent Chairman, on the evening of the second day This was the signal for the fifty-three minute demonstration led by Mayor Kelly's notorious voice from the sewers' The machine Democrats obediently climbed aboard the band wagon The vote on the first ballot was Roosevelt 946, Farley 72, Garner 61, Tydings 9, Hull 5 (fractions omitted) This was on Wednesday, the third day of the Convention Again quoting Flynn "They did not support Roosevelt out of any motive of affection or because of any political issues involved —or it might be added, any sympathy with or even understanding of his objectives—"but rather they knew that opposing him would be harmful to their local organizations The Roosevelt name would help more than it could hurt and for that reason these city leaders went along on the third term candidacy They were given an even more bitter pill to swallow when Hopkins announced that the President's choice for his Vice Presidential running mate was Henry Wallace and for some time they gave rebellious evidence of refusing to choke this one down. Even some of the President's most loyal adherents were shocked at this s

Dear Will —

When you speak to the Convention on Monday evening will you say something for me which I believe ought to be made utterly clear?

You and my other close friends have known and understood that I have not today and have never had any wish or purpose to remain in the office of President, or indeed anywhere in public office after next January.

You know and all my friends know that this is a simple and sincere fact.

I want you to repeat this simple and sincere fact to the Convention.

Roosevelt's letter to William Bankhead, Temporary Chairman of the Democratic National Convention stating his position on the Third Term.

Ickes, who might well have accepted the Vice Presidential nomination himself, threatened to bolt the party and it later took all of Roosevelt's powers of persuasion to hold him in the fold In the White House, on the evening of the fourth and last day, Roosevelt had become so angered by the sordid shambles in Chicago that he was actually preparing a draft of a speech refusing the nomination. (He had not yet publicly stated that he would run if nominated) Hopkins, who was not even a delegate to the Convention and got in only by courtesy of a badge from Mayor Kelly designating him a Deputy Sergeant at Arms, was feverishly telephoning the White House almost from minute to minute while the radio in the President's study blared forth the raucous expressions of discord. One impassioned delegate shouted into the microphone "Just because the Republicans have nominated an apostate Democrat [Willkie], let us not for God's sake nominate an apostate Republican [Wallace]" However, the insurrection was not quite strong enough to stop Wallace's nomination on the first ballot, and Roosevelt relaxed and started to dictate his acceptance speech with the aid of Sam Rosenman, for whom this was one of the worst nights of his life. At the Convention, Wallace wanted to give an acceptance speech of his own but Hopkins harshly advised him not to show himself—there had been enough hostile demonstrations broadcast already The Convention closed with numerous resolutions of thanks to various dignitaries who had participated, not including Harry Hopkins

The job that Hopkins had to do at this dreadful display of democracy at its tawdriest was disagreeable and thankless He was under fire from all sides, friend and foe alike But he had assumed this job on his own initiative because it had to be done and there was no one else who had the courage or perhaps the effrontery to do it without written instructions from the President He handled it only by dint of supreme toughness and a demonstration of political ruthlessness which must have caused some of the professional politicians to reconsider their estimate of him as an amateur Hopkins knew, however, th[illegible] dilemma in Chicago was only a minor projection of Roo[illegible] Nor[illegible]nary times, Roosevelt would probably have e[illegible]

down drag-out political Donnybrook against such opponents as Farley and Garner and legions of ward heelers and he would have handled it without much perceptible difficulty. But this Convention was staged against a background of world catastrophe, of which the delegates had scant conception, and Roosevelt, in his distaste for the whole vulgar proceeding, displayed none of his customary adroitness in controlling the unruly situation It was a lucky thing for him and for the country that he ha[illegible] Hopkins there to absorb so much of the hatred that was ge[illegible] erated.

After Chicago, it became all too clear to Hopkins that must resign as Secretary of Commerce and, if he had not had th[illegible] idea himself, there were plenty of Roosevelt's friends ready convey it to him. He was more of a political liability than ev[illegible] he was no longer in the conspicuous role of champion of th[illegible] underprivileged—unemployment was beginning to go down as the defense effort increased—and, because of his long illness, he had little to show for himself in the way of accomplishment as a Cabinet officer. On August 22 he submitted his resignation in a letter which stated his physical inability to perform his duties under the rigorous demands of war—which seems an odd excuse in the light of his subsequent activities:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

The tenth of May, 1940 was an important and fateful date. It seemed to me then that our situation was similar to that of the British before the outbreak of war. In the months preceding that event many Englishmen believed the conflict could be avoided by concession. Others thought there was no immediate threat from Germany; that defense preparation could be delayed with safety. Still others maintained that anyone who wished to strengthen the defenses of Britain was a "war mongerer."

The experience of Britain has shown that where the national interest and security are at stake, we are justified in making only the most pessimistic assumptions. To do otherwise is to be too late at every stage, to invite attack when it suits the aggressor, to face con[illegible] flict half prepared.

The only questions at this time are with regard to the characte[illegible] pace and magnitude of our defense effort. We must build armamen[illegible] and because of your own foresight and determination, this is be[illegible] . . . We must marshal our complete economic strength for the [illegible]

of defense. This means that instead of retreating from our social and economic objectives, we should push forward vigorously with a program to abolish poverty from the land. To do less would be to undermine our security.

That you have resolved these fundamental questions in your own mind, that you are now leading the nation in its gigantic effort to defend itself,—is the surest guarantee of peace for America.

I wanted to resign last May because it seemed to me that you and the country needed the services of cabinet officers whose strength permitted vigorous and continuous assumption of the duties required of them. You indicated then that I should remain throughout the Summer in the hope that I would completely recover my strength. This recovery I have not fully accomplished, therefore, I feel that I must resign as Secretary of Commerce, the resignation to become effective in the immediate future.

An expression of good-will and appreciation from me to you at this time is unnecessary. My abiding devotion and affection for you and Mrs. Roosevelt cannot be authenticated in any exchange of letters.

Roosevelt replied as follows:

I have your letter of August twenty second and I fully understand all that you say and much that you have left unsaid.

In giving me this letter of resignation it is possible only for you to break the official ties that exist between us—not the ties of friendship that have endured so happily through the years. I am accepting your resignation, therefore, to take effect at a date to be determined later and, I repeat, that this resignation is accepted only in its official sense.

In other words, you may resign the office—only the office—and nothing else. Our friendship will and must go on as always.

There was a cordial exchange between the old feudists, Ickes and Hopkins. Ickes wrote:

I can understand your reasons [for resigning] but I shall miss you. We haven't always seen eye to eye on every matter, but I hope that you have never doubted my personal feeling toward you. Even when we have differed you have added zest to my life.

Hopkins replied:

Your nice note to me need not have been sent. True, our relations from time to time have been strained and difficult, but now that the time has come for me to leave the Government I think I could sum up my feeling this way: No one has battled as consistently for the New Deal and for the President, week in and week out, as have you. You

own drag-out political Donnybrook against such opponents as
Farley and Garner and legions of ward heelers and he would
have handled it without much perceptible difficulty. But this
Convention was staged against a background of world catastro-
phe, of which the delegates had scant conception, and Roosevelt,
in his distaste for the whole vulgar proceeding, displayed none
of his customary adroitness in controlling the unruly situation.
It was a lucky thing for him and for the country that he had
Hopkins there to absorb so much of the hatred that was gen-
erated.

After Chicago, it became all too clear to Hopkins that he
must resign as Secretary of Commerce and, if he had not had the
idea himself, there were plenty of Roosevelt's friends ready to
convey it to him. He was more of a political liability than ever:
he was no longer in the conspicuous role of champion of the
underprivileged—unemployment was beginning to go down
as the defense effort increased—and, because of his long illness,
he had little to show for himself in the way of accomplishment
as a Cabinet officer. On August 22 he submitted his resignation
in a letter which stated his physical inability to perform his
duties under the rigorous demands of war—which seems an odd
excuse in the light of his subsequent activities:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

The tenth of May, 1940 was an important and fateful date.
It seemed to me then that our situation was similar to that of the
British before the outbreak of war. In the months preceding that
event many Englishmen believed the conflict could be avoided by con-
cession. Others thought there was no immediate threat from Germany;
that defense preparation could be delayed with safety. Still others
maintained that anyone who wished to strengthen the defenses of
Britain was a "war mongerer."

The experience of Britain has shown that where the national in-
terest and security are at stake, we are justified in making only the
most pessimistic assumptions. To do otherwise is to be too late at
every stage, to invite attack when it suits the aggressor, to face con-
flict half prepared.

The only questions at this time are with regard to the character,
pace and magnitude of our defense effort. We must build armaments
and because of your own foresight and determination, this is bein[g]
done. We must marshal our complete economic strength for the ta[sk]

of defense. This means that instead of retreating from our social and economic objectives, we should push forward vigorously with a program to abolish poverty from the land To do less would be to undermine our security

That you have resolved these fundamental questions in your own mind, that you are now leading the nation in its gigantic effort to defend itself,—is the surest guarantee of peace for America

I wanted to resign last May because it seemed to me that you and the country needed the services of cabinet officers whose strength permitted vigorous and continuous assumption of the duties required of them You indicated then that I should remain throughout the Summer in the hope that I would completely recover my strength This recovery I have not fully accomplished, therefore, I feel that I must resign as Secretary of Commerce, the resignation to become effective in the immediate future

An expression of good will and appreciation from me to you at this time is unnecessary My abiding devotion and affection for you and Mrs Roosevelt cannot be authenticated in any exchange of letters

Roosevelt replied as follows

I have your letter of August twenty second and I fully under [illegible] all that you say and much that you have left unsaid

In giving me this letter of resignation it is possible only for y[illegible] break the official ties that exist between us—not the ties of frien[illegible] that have endured so happily through the years I am accepting [illegible] resignation, therefore to take effect at a date to be determined and, I repeat, that this resignation is accepted only in its official [illegible]

In other words, you may resign the office—only the office [illegible] nothing else Our friendship will and must go on as always

There was a cordial exchange between the old feudists [illegible] and Hopkins Ickes wrote

I can understand your reasons [for resigning] [illegible] We haven't always seen eye to eye on every [illegible] you have never doubted my personal feeling toward you [illegible] we have differed you have added [illegible]

Hopkins replied

Your nice note to me [illegible] has been sent True our rela[illegible] from time to time have been strained and difficult but now tha[illegible] time has come for me to leave the Government I think I could [illegible] up my feeling this way No one has battled as consistently for the [illegible] Deal and for the President, week in and week out, as have you

Street." The final reference to the weather meant that Hopkins had information from the Middle West expressing confidence that Roosevelt was going to win the 1940 election.

There was no doubt that Hopkins hated to leave the government for he was well aware that, despite the sincerity of Roosevelt's assurance that he could not resign from their friendship, the President was dependent for advice and counsel upon those who are deeply and continuously involved in high-level activities and associations, and one who is on the outside can quickly lose touch with the rapidly changing course of events and of policy. Although his standing invitation to stay at the White House remained, Hopkins went to New York and took a suite, bedroom and sitting room, at the Essex House. He was planning n to take the job at the Hyde Park Library and, vaguely, "to some writing on the side." But he was soon back in the fray.

rly in October I went to see him at his hotel and he said, "The esident has to give a speech on Columbus Day. It's supposed o be one of those routine State Department speeches about Western Hemisphere solidarity, directed primarily to South America. But the President wants to talk to the American people about Hitler. So far as he is concerned, there is absolutely nothing important in the world today but to beat Hitler." Hopkins looked at me sharply as though he might be expecting me to dispute this point, which I did not. Then he asked me, "What do you think the President ought to say?"

Somewhat flabbergasted, I expressed some views and we talked about them for awhile and then Hopkins said, "Come on—Let's go and see Sam Rosenman." I had never met Rosenman, but had heard of him as one of those vague figures in the background of the Roosevelt palace guard. Although there was always criticism of these extraofficial people—the term "Brains Trust" persisted long after its original members had melted away—I could never understand why the President of th United States should not have the same right as anyone else choose his own personal friends and even, on occasion to list to their advice; but the very suggestion of a palace guard has eternally sinister connotation.

Born in San Antonio, Texas, Rosenman had been gradu

from Columbia Law School, entered New York politics and served in the State Legislature and, in 1929, became Counsel to the new Governor. In 1932 he was appointed and later elected Justice of the New York State Supreme Court but, in his spare time, he worked for the President in all sorts of helpful capacities, receiving for this work neither glory nor pay. From 1940 on he was a constant commuter between New York and Washington until finally, in 1943, he retired from the bench at Roosevelt's request and became Counsel to the President working full time in the White House. Roosevelt loved him, and with good cause.

who heard him—but, as always, these crowds were largely posed of Republicans who would vote for him anyway; the radio, which had become the supreme test for a Presidential candidate, his speeches sounded harsh, hurried and diffuse—short-range blasts of birdshot rather than pinpointed high explosive shells. The trouble was that he had no precise issues to emphasize: he attacked Roosevelt's domestic and foreign policies in general terms but did not promise to repeal any of the New Deal reforms or to stop aid to Britain or to advocate appeasement of Germany or of Japan, which had by now become formally a partner in the Axis. It seemed that the one real targe for attack was the arrogance of Roosevelt in considering himselt worthy of a third term—and, as an incidental but popular target, the appointment of the President's son, Elliott, to be a Captain in the Army Air Corps. It was strictly *ad hominem* attack, and it extended to the personalities of the Administration. What Willkie was saying, in effect, was, "You can trust me to do the same thing, only better"—or as the more embittered members of the Republican Old Guard put it, "Me too." Willkie was extremely effective in one way: by giving the Republicans the kind of dynamic leadership they had lacked for twenty years, he aroused many long-dormant voters and impelled them to the polls instead of to the Country Club or the Great North Woods on election day; thus, he swelled his own party's strength, but he could make no appreciable dent in Roosevelt's on any issue other than that of American involvement in war. In his zestful lambastings of Roosevelt, Wallace, Madame Perkins, Ickes, Morgenthau, Hopkins and the rest—Hopkins was out of the government but back in the White House—Willkie was most careful to avoid any attacks on Cordell Hull. Indeed, Hull's prestige was so great at the time that Willkie made it clear that, in the event of his election, he would urge Hull to continue in office as Secretary of State. This inevitably weakened the Republicans' position, for while their orators could hammer away at the Administration with charges of boondoggling, leaf raking, willful waste, strangling of free enterprise—points which had been belabored in 1936 with negligible success—they could not

prosecute the attack directly against the conduct of foreign affairs, which was the most overwhelmingly important factor of all.

During the first weeks of the campaign Roosevelt gave Willkie what is known as "the silent treatment." In his acceptance speech (the speech to the Chicago Convention that he almost did not deliver) Roosevelt had said: "I shall not have the time or the inclination to engage in purely political debate. But I shall never be loath to call the attention of the nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact."

This, of course, left the door wide open for Roosevelt to start campaigning whenever he felt the moment was propitious. In the meantime, Willkie was compelled to roar across the land, conducting a unilateral debate, without reply. In the Columbus Day speech, October 12, Roosevelt never even alluded to the existence of a political campaign. This, of course, was all carefully calculated. Willkie repeatedly challenged "The Champ"

to expose these partisan malpractices in his broadcasts, the radio being considered his only means of full and free access to the people.

The Democratic party itself, however, was no devoted band of loyalists, united against the forces of entrenched greed. The Democratic machine, such as it was, had been seriously weakened by the dissensions at Chicago. After the Convention, Farley had "taken a walk," as Al Smith had done before him, and the National Chairmanship had been taken over by Ed Flynn, a most agreeable man and a successful leader in a highly specialized district (the Bronx, New York City), but hardly at that time a national figure. The most spirited element in the Democratic campaign was the newly formed Independent Committe eaded by Senator George W. Norris and Mayor Fiorello I Guardia, but this Committee—more "amateurs," according the professionals—was working for the election of Roosevelt without regard for the regular Democratic organization. The local politicians were not much worried about Roosevelt's election; they felt that this problem could be left to the "Great White Father" himself. They were concerned about the Congressmen, the Governors, Mayors, County Supervisors, etc., and they were loudly demanding that the President come down from his high horse of world statesmanship and start fighting and save the party. Roosevelt, however, stuck to his plan to limi himself to five frankly political speeches in the final two wee of the campaign. In the first of these speeches in Philadelphia on October 23, he said: "I consider it a public duty to answer falsifications with facts. I will not pretend that I find this an unpleasant duty. I am an old campaigner, and I love a good fight."

This was the signal that was needed to proclaim that "The Champ" had gone into action. This Philadelphia speech, reread after seven years, does not appear to qualify as one of Roosevelt's better efforts. But it was effective at the time, and the gleeful roars of the partisan crowd in Convention Hall that greeted each precision punch were as important when broadcast as anything specific that he said. Roosevelt did not once mention Willkie's name in this speech, nor at any other time during the

campaign, nor did he ever mention Dewey four years later. Shortly after this speech, Willkie broadcast from the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum and listeners noted that he sounded shaken Willkie's confidence in the triumph of his cause had been almost fanatical, but by now the politicians, supported by newspaper publishers for whose opinions he had more respect, were beginning to bring home to him the possibility that defeat stared him in the face Aside from his own personal ambition which had led him to seek the nomination and to drive himself unsparingly in the campaign, he would have been less than human if he had not come to believe his own words and those of other Republican orators to the effect that the re-election of Roosevelt would be an unutterable calamity, to be prevented by any and all means, fair or foul His principal advisers in the first part of the campaign were the same "amateurs who had backed him for the nomination and helped him to win it—honorable, intelligent men like Russell Davenport who despised the Old Guard reactionaries and isolationists as they despised the "cynical men" (like Hopkins of the free-spending New Deal) The Republican National Chairman, Congressman Joseph W Martin, and other hard-boiled veterans of innumerable "smoke-filled rooms," scorned these amateurs and told Willkie vehemently that his high-minded advisers were making him an easy mark for Roosevelt. The Republican professionals begged Willkie to abandon this nonsense about a bipartisan foreign policy—to attack Roosevelt as a warmonger—to scare the American people with warnings that votes for Roosevelt meant wooden crosses for their sons and brothers and sweethearts Willkie succumbed to these heated urgings from men who loved him no more than the professional Democrats loved Roosevelt but who knew they must win with him or suffer another four years in the political wastelands where no flowers of patronage could bloom When Willkie started to shout charges that American boys were already on the transports—that we should be involved in a foreign war within five months if Roosevelt won—the campaign really descended to the lower depths and became, for two impassioned weeks, pretty much of a national disgrace Willkie knew that these charges were contemptible and

them were repeated to him by the isolationist Senator Bennett Champ Clark, during Willkie's testimony in favor of Lend Lease a few months later, he dismissed them with disarming candor by saying, "In moments of oratory in campaigns we all expand a little bit."

However, there was no doubt about the immediate efficacy of Willkie's discreditable attacks on the war issue. The advice of the Republican professionals that the only way to get votes was to terrify people proved unhappily sound. The effects of this were felt powerfully in the White House during the last week of October. I had to read the letters and telegrams and reports that flooded in and, being a neophyte in such matters, I was amazed and horrified at the evidences of hysteria. Of all the communications, the most disturbing were those from newspapermen who, even though most of them worked for Republican papers, were personally devoted to Roosevelt and were doing all they could privately to help him. They reported mounting waves of fear throughout the country which might easily merge into tidal proportions by election day and sweep Willkie into office. There were all sorts of other reports from all over: notices from insurance companies to policyholders that Roosevelt's election would make their policies relatively worthless; telegrams to doctors warning that Roosevelt's election would mean the socialization of medicine; an extremely solvent bank advertised in the *Chicago Tribune:* "In a last stand for democracy, every director and officer of this bank will vote for Wendell Willkie"—a warning to depositors that they had better do likewise if they wanted to protect their money. There were various other scarecrows designed to frighten workers, farmers, housewives. Some of these, however, had been set up by the Republicans in 1936 and had fooled practically no one. The fear of war was another matter; it was something new and unreasoning and tending toward a sense of panic. Or, at any rate, so the reports indicated. Reading them, it was difficult to avoid the dismayed thought that perhaps the American people were ready to stampede along the road which led to Bordeaux and so to Vichy even before the Panzers arrived on our home soil; it seemed possible that the strategy of terror had won its greatest victory here, that

the Nazis had made good their boast that the conquest of the Western Hemisphere would be an "inside job." Even more alarming reports were coming into Democratic National Headquarters in New York and were relayed, perhaps in somewhat magnified form, from there to the White House. All the messages said much the same thing: "Please, for God's sake, Mr. President, give solemn promise to the mothers of America that you will not send their sons into any foreign wars If you fail to do this, we lose the election!"

Strangely enough, the previous Willkie arguments which had most effectively bruised Roosevelt had tended to charge him with a kind of isolationism Willkie likened Roosevelt to Léon Blum, who had attempted to steer France toward social progress rather than preparedness, he identified himself with Winston Churchill, whom he quoted often, Churchill having made some remarks a few years before in disparagement of the American New Deal Willkie tried to assign to Roosevelt a share of the guilt for the Munich surrender and the fall of France, and full guilt for the torpedoing of the London Economic Conference seven years earlier Most of all, Willkie blamed Roosevelt and his "Socialistic" Administration for the present military weakness of the United States—and those accusations stung Roosevelt worse than any others because he knew all too well just how frighteningly weak we were Roosevelt spent a great deal of time answering these earlier accusations even though they hardly tallied with the later charges that American troops were already on the transports headed for Europe or Asia or both The div sity of Willkie's attack and its fine disregard for consistency w bewildering even to Roosevelt and he was forced for a time take a defensive position, where he was at his worst

On October 28, Roosevelt went to New York City and m a regular campaign tour of four boroughs, speaking at two ce monies, the ground-breaking for one tunnel and the dedicati of another, both timed conveniently for this occasion by Guardia There were short speeches also at Hunter College a Fordham University, at the Queensbridge Housing Project a Roosevelt Park, and the grand windup with a rally at Madi Square Garden that evening The night before, Mussolini f

contributed to the drama of the moment and, although this was certainly not his intention, had thereby helped Roosevelt, by launching his shameful and ultimately (for Italy) disastrous invasion of Greece. But Roosevelt did not denounce this; he made no further reference to a "stab in the back," for by now the Italian-American vote was of substantial importance, particularly in New York and other large cities. He said, "I am quit sure that all of you will feel the same sorrow in your hearts th I feel—sorrow for the Italian people and the Grecian peopl that they should have been involved together in conflict—" a assailably safe statement. Ironically enough, two paragrap ter in the same speech, he quoted Theodore Roosevelt's famo erm, "weasel words."

That Madison Square Garden speech was one of the m equivocal of Roosevelt's career. The first two thirds of it was a reply to Willkie's charge that the Administration had neglected our national defense, Roosevelt reading the record of Republican opposition to all attempts to increase the armed force and to give aid to embattled Britain. The last third of the speech was a reply to the charge of warmongering. Here, Roosevelt went to the length or depth of taking credit for the Neutrality Law and other measures which he had thoroughly disapproved and had fought to repeal and had contrived by all possible means to circumvent. While boasting of the Neutrality Law as part of the Administration record, he deliberately neglected to make any mention of his own Quarantine Speech; in a campaign as irrational as this one, he felt it necessary to soft-pedal the fac that he had been ahead of other world statesmen in telling the world the truth.

The speech was brightened by one fortuitous catch phrase. In citing the voting records of such prominent Republicans as Congressmen Joe Martin, Hamilton Fish and Bruce Barton, the three names fell into such a euphonious pattern—Martin, Barton and Fish—that Roosevelt repeated the phrase later in the speech, and when he did so, the crowd roared the names with him. Two days later, in his Boston speech, Roosevelt mentioned Martin, and immediately someone in the gallery shouted "What about Barton and Fish?" and the crowd thereupon took up th

chant. American crowds love to indulge in organized exercises of derision. Willkie said later, "When I heard the President hang the isolationist votes of Martin, Barton and Fish on me, and get away with it, I knew I was licked." (I must say that I doubt that statement, it was a virtue of Wendell Willkie's that he never knew when he was licked)

The day after the New York appearance, Roosevelt was back in Washington for a momentous ceremony. the drawing of the first numbers under the Selective Service Act This lottery would determine the names of the first 800,000 men—roughly, five per cent of the total registrants—to be drafted into the Army This would have been a tense, nervous occasion at any time, with the current state of the world, and with the word "warmonger" being thrown about so recklessly it was all the more harrowing Roosevelt had to choose his words with extraordinary care This was no moment for trick phrases The nation was listening breathlessly for the broadcast announcement of the fateful numbers as they were drawn With his marvelous gift for finding homely, old-fashioned words to fit new circumstances, Roosevelt did not refer to Selective Service as a "draft" —certainly not "conscription"—he called it a "muster," thereby evoking race memories of the rugged farmers of Lexington and Concord taking their flintlock muskets down from above the fireplace Roosevelt had prepared himself with letters from leaders of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, supporting Selective Service as a democratic procedure, and he quoted from these in his broadcast. The best of these—and, in view of the uncertainty of the Catholic attitude, the most important—was from Archbishop (later Cardinal) Francis J Spellman, who wrote:

> It is better to have protection and not need it than to need protection and not have it We really cannot longer afford to be moles, who cannot see, or ostriches who will not see We Americans want peace and we shall prepare for a peace, but not for a peace whose definition is slavery or death

Those were stronger words of justification of Roosevelt's position than any he himself uttered in this campaign

It seemed as though the fear-of-war hysteria, as expressed in

the messages to Washington, reached its pe
Gallup poll indicated that Willkie was
strength. Roosevelt himself was inclined tc
theory that Gallup's conclusions could b
thinking as well as those of anyone else
leaders were becoming more and more
everything to the peace mania. It seem
gone about as far in the New York sp
the provision of reassurance, but the fr
tested that he had not gone far enougl
provide absolute guarantee to the mothe...
sons would not fight.

On October 30, we were on the Presidential train going
into New England, with stops for short speeches at New Hav
eriden, Hartford, and Worcester, and the final speech at
oston Arena. That Boston speech was a terrible one to pre
nd also to remember. Every time the train stopped more
more telegrams were delivered stating almost tearfully th
the President did not give that solemn promise to the mc
he might as well start packing his belongings at the
House.

Roosevelt as always worked hard on the speech betwee
He sat in a low-backed armchair in his private car, t
draft of the speech on his lap, with Missy LeHand, Gra
Hopkins, Rosenman and me, all working with carbc
We came to a passage which gave assurance to the m
fathers that their "boys" would be well fed and well
the Army and their health well guarded. Hopkins
President a telegram from Ed Flynn containing the
request.

"But how often do they expect me to say that
asked. "It's in the Democratic platform and I've
hundred times."

Whereupon I remarked, "I know it, Mr. Pres
don't seem to have heard you the first time. E
got to say it again—and again—and again."

So it was put in, as follows.

> And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance
>
> I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again:
> Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars

That passage has been given almost as much quotation (in the isolationist press) as Roosevelt's somewhat complementary observation that "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Rosenman, whose duty it was to remember everything, mentioned the fact that the Democratic platform had added the words, "except in case of attack" Roosevelt said he could see no need to tack that on now "Of course we'll fight if we're attacked If somebody attacks us, then it isn't a foreign war, is it? Or do they want me to guarantee that our troops will be sent into battle only in the event of another Civil War?" He was plainly sick and tired of these jugglings of euphemisms, as well he might be

The Boston speech provoked a political issue over the use of a personal pronoun As a gesture to the Boston Irish, Roosevelt paid tribute to one of them, Joseph P Kennedy, who had just returned from his post at the Court of St James Roosevelt described him as 'my Ambassador Both Hopkins and Rosenman protested this, asking if it would not be better to say "*our* Ambassador." But Roosevelt insisted that "my' was correct and he was technically right, for an Ambassador is the personal representative of the head of one state to the head of another That explanation did no good whatever once the fatal pronoun was out Every Republican orator from then on pointed to the word "my" as proof of Roosevelt's colossal egotism and dictatorial ambitions

Before the Boston speech, Roosevelt went for a rest and quiet dinner at the apartment of his son John on the Charles River An adjoining building was some sort of club for undergraduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology They had displayed a huge banner inscribed with the words WE WANT WILLKIE—and when the President was pushed out in his wheelchair, the students chanted, "Poppa—I wanna be a

tain!" which was the popular, taunting reference to the commi
sion given to John Roosevelt's brother, Elliott. While waiti
for the President to come out at that time I was collared
Boston police because I could not give a satisfactory explanati
of my presence there. While being led away, I was fortunate
spotted by General Watson and Captain Callaghan, the Na
Aide, and rescued. They turned me over to Colonel Starling,
the Secret Service, and I rode to the Arena in the open Sec
Service car which, bristling with submachine guns, followed t
President's car through the Boston streets. Passing through Ba
Bay, the crowds seemed none too friendly and there were occ
sional catcalls and boos for Roosevelt. But, after the turn fr
Boylston into Tremont Street, and thence through Scoll
Square, the crowds increased tremendously in numbers a
enthusiasm.

After this Boston speech—which, I think, ranks below ev
the one at Madison Square Garden—the President seemed
return to form. On October 31, he was able to give some att
tion to the war, having only one nonpolitical speech to make,
the dedication of the National Health Center in Bethesda, Ma
land. The following morning the Presidential train left f
Brooklyn. We all felt cheerful on that trip—it was an undefin
feeling that the worst was over—and the speech that night w
a vast improvement over its unworthy predecessors in th
strange campaign. Roosevelt had abandoned the defensive,
had stopped listening to the party prophets of calamity, he w
going into the attack with the confident buoyancy and vitali
that were his.

The fearsome labor leader, John L. Lewis, in one of the ugli
speeches on record, had proclaimed that he and the millions
workers who presumably did his bidding would vote for Wi
kie; moreover, he promised that, if Roosevelt were to win t
election, he would quit the Congress of Industrial Organizatio
of which he was then President and go sulk in his tent. So no

Lewis loomed as a real pleasure Willkie had no more in common with Lewis politically, ideologically or sociologically, than he had with such implacable Tory diehards as Tom M. Girdler or Ernest T Weir, but he was stuck with this discordant support and could not disown it The Republican dilemma was illustrated by a story told ruefully (after the election) by Albert [illegible] of prominent businessmen about the dinner table and extract from them some hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Republican fund It was no easy job, for all present had undoubtedly contributed heavily already and some of them were none too enthusiastic about Willkie's tendencies to say "Me Too" on the New Deal reforms and aid for Britain During the evening the radio was turned on and the assembled company listened to John L. Lewis broadcast his Hymn of Hate against Roosevelt At the end of it, there were a few moments of pained silence, broken by Lasker, who said, "Now gentlemen—having heard that speech in our support, you will understand why the need of the Republican Party is truly desperate ' He was given the funds for which he asked

In the Brooklyn speech, Roosevelt said

> There is something very ominous in this combination that has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country
>
> There is no common ground upon which they can unite—we know that—unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends that they, each of them, seek
>
> No elements in American life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance against each other
>
> I do not think that some of the men, even some of the leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country
>
> I am certain that the rank and file of patriotic Republicans do not realize the nature of this threat
>
> They should remember, and we must remember

tive understanding between Communism and Naziism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears—where, of all places?—in the *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of the Communist Party.

Something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations that make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

Those forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

Their objective is to prevent democracy from becoming strong and purposeful. We are strong and purposeful now and intend to remain so.

These were strong words and one may perhaps call them unfair ones considering that their hapless victim was a man of the character of Wendell Willkie. But they were at the time unanswerable, and this was the kind of fighting talk that the people wanted to hear from the President rather than arrays of statistics summoned for purposes of defense.

One relatively minor item which greatly enlivened the preparation of the Brooklyn speech was a clipping from Arthur Krock's column in the *New York Times*. Krock, writing in the tone of a benevolent uncle, was warning the Republican party that some of its orators were indulging in excesses which did more harm than good to the cause. He recommended that such well-intentioned zealots should be discreetly curbed. He cited, for example, this statement made by a Philadelphia judge in the course of a campaign speech:

The President's only supporters are paupers, those who earn less than $1,200 a year and aren't worth *that*, and the Roosevelt family.

When this incredibly ill-advised remark was read aloud on the train to Brooklyn, the chortling was unbridled, for it was hastily estimated that this definition of "pauper" applied to approximately half of the total population of the United States. What made the blunder even more welcome was the fact that, had Krock not printed it in a friendly admonition to the Repub-

licans, no one in the Roosevelt entourage would ever have heard of it. The President used this quotation as the keynote of his peroration. He said.

> "Paupers who are not worth their salt—there speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership in this year of grace.
>
> Can the Republican leaders deny that all this all-too-prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct, vicious, unpatriotic appeal to class hatred and class contempt?
>
> *That, my friends, is just what I am fighting against with all my heart and soul*
>
> I am only fighting for a free America—for a country in which *all* men and women have equal rights to liberty and justice.
>
> I am fighting against the revival of Government by special privilege —Government by lobbyists—Government vested in the hands of those who favor and who would have us imitate the foreign dictatorships.
>
> And I will not stop fighting

After the Brooklyn speech we left for Cleveland where on the following night Roosevelt was to wind up his campaign. Hopkins, Rosenman and I had adjoining compartments in the car next to the President's and these formed the main workshop There were four secretaries on duty—Grace Tully, Dorothy Brady, Roberta Barrows and Ruthjane Rumelt In other cars forward were other members of the White House staff, the press and radio representatives, the communications car and, of course, masses of Secret Service men. There was a dining car in the middle of the train which was a sort of press club and it was a fine place to go to get ideas for the speech then in progress. The White House correspondents provided extremely pleasant and stimulating company and some of those who worked for the most stanchly Republican papers were most helpful in suggesting what points Roosevelt should make Many of these correspondents were tired of Roosevelt and annoyed by him, but, when it came to a choice between him and Willkie or (especially) Dewey, they were for him

The Cleveland speech was considered to be of decisive importance, it being the last Saturday night of the campaign and the occasion for a résumé of all the points at issue, but there had been no time for any real preparation until

the sleeping cars after the Brooklyn speech. Fortunately, the President's train always traveled slowly. There were three reasons for this: (1) security, to reduce chances of serious accident; (2) to give people along the right of way a good chance to watch the train go by; and (3) Roosevelt's repugnance for speed in any vehicle in which he was traveling (he liked to look at every detail of the scenery; when passing through a small town, he could often tell you what were its principal local problems and how it voted in the last election).

Hopkins, Rosenman and I went through all the speech material that had been brought from the White House: passages dictated by the President at random moments, drafts written and submitted by various people in the government, innumerable suggestions in letters and telegrams from Roosevelt's supporters all over the country. (It might be added that in this [illegible]k of intensive campaigning not one of us read or listened [illegible] any of Willkie's speeches. We merely looked at the headlines and talked to the newspapermen to learn if he was making any new, important points.) The best suggestions in the assembled material came from Dorothy Thompson, who was still with the *New York Herald Tribune*, and Dean Acheson, who had walked out of the New Deal in its first year but was now giving strong support to the President.

Hopkins was too ill to continue work and went to bed about 2 A.M., but Rosenman and I worked the rest of Friday night, having a series of sandwiches brought in from the dining car, then slept for about an hour in beds littered with toast crusts and gobs of cottage cheese. On Saturday, the President gave short speeches at Batavia, Buffalo, Rochester, Dunkirk, New York, and Erie, Pennsylvania. He inspected airplane plants. When we gathered for lunch in his car, he looked gray and worn and sagging. I was shocked at his appearance and thought, "This is too much punishment to expect any man to take." I almost hoped he would lose the election for it seemed that flesh and blood could not survive another six months—let alone four years—in this terrible job. During lunch he started reminiscing about his old sailing days along the New Brunswick and New England coasts and told long, rather dull stories

lobstermen that everybody else present had heard
before, and I saw for the first time his powers of
in action. The grayness of his face gave way to
, the circles vanished from under his eyes, the
seemed to tighten up into muscles about his jaw-
end of a brief, light lunch he was in wonderful
as demanding, "Now! What have you three cut-
doing to my speech?" He worked with us for the
rs, pausing every so often when warned that the
out to slow down, then he would put on his leg
alk out to the back platform on the arm of General
greet the crowd that had gathered at some small
him It was always the factory workers and their
who were most emotional in their enthusiasm.
out on the tracks and ran after the train shouting
ou!" The faith these people had in this man was
behold, and I felt ashamed of myself for having
ed the hysteria of the past days in Washington as
the voice of America

l in Cleveland was the most vociferous of the cam-
with reason, for this was far and away the best
ed, Sam Rosenman, who worked with Roosevelt
over a course of seventeen years, believes this was
est campaign speech he ever made—first place
by the speech at the Teamsters' Union dinner in
1944. Because there has been so much talk about
riting of Roosevelt's speeches (and there will be
t subject throughout these pages) it may be won-
he speeches were not more uniform in quality The
hat is that the speeches as finally delivered were
expression of Roosevelt himself if he were in a
uberant, affirmative state of mind, the speech was
metimes great, if he were tired, and defensive, and
the ghost writers on earth couldn't equip him with
words.

eveland speech, he made his first and last reference
term issue It was a glancing reference [illegible] pro-
prising reaction from the crowd. R[illegible]

that, when the next four years are over, "there will be another President"—at which point the crowd started to shout "No! No!" Thinking remarkably quickly, Roosevelt thrust his mouth close to the microphone and went right on talking so that the shouts which suggested that he might be elected permanently should not be heard over the radio.

After Cleveland, there was not much more to do except to close up the President's final speech to be delivered from Hyde Park at 11:00 P.M. on election eve. That final speech was pretty much the same in three campaigns for re-election—in 1936, 1940 and 1944. It was short and nonpartisan, a moving reaffirmation of faith in the democratic process, expressing assurance that regardless of the outcome of tomorrow's balloting, "the United States will still be united." These speeches were pure Roosevelt. No mere politician, and certainly no mere host writer, could put into them the same degree of conviction and the same deep spiritual quality that he conveyed. It was natural for Roosevelt's enemies to assume that his professions of religious faith must be hypocritical; but those who knew him best—including some irretrievable agnostics—knew that one could joke with him on almost any and every subject, but not this one (another one was his family). He could be called extremely irreverent in regard to many temporal sacred cows, but not in regard to his own religion or that of any other formally religious man. I really believe, extreme as it may seem to say it, that he regarded these nonpartisan speeches at the end of a rowdy campaign as a form of expiation for any excesses of which he might previously have been guilty. He regarded them literally as "last words" by which he would prefer to be remembered in the event of his defeat.

For this 1940 speech, even before the intensive campaign started, he had said that he wanted to close with a prayer for the nation which he remembered had been in an Episcopalian Book of Common Prayer in use when he was at Groton School. The Library of Congress was put to work to locate this and had dug up all sorts of old prayer books with various prayers for the nation. Each had been submitted to the President and he had examined it and said, "No—that's not the one I want." He

would recite parts of the prayer from a memory that went back more than forty years

ien we returned to the White House, from Cleveland, we that several more prayer books had been sent over from iergetic Library and one of them—published, as I recall, 1880's—proved to be the one he wanted. It was a beau- rayer, containing these words.

> less our land with honourable industry, sound learning, and pure ners Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride arrogancy, and from every evil way Defend our liberties, and ion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of y kindreds and tongues

pkins made one negative contribution to this speech which led an old sore. The President had included a quotation the Cleveland speech that freedom of speech is of no use : man who has nothing to say and freedom of religion is use to the man who has lost his God" and added "a free on is of no use to the man who is too indifferent *or too lazy* te" Hopkins urged that the italicized words be stricken He said, "I don't think you ought to insult the people in speech." After some argument, Roosevelt agreed Later I to Rosenman that I couldn t understand why Hopkins had : such an issue of this, since there undoubtedly were far nany people who were too lazy to vote Rosenman said, "I s that word gets under Harry s skin It reminds him of the sations that most of the people who went on W P A. did nly because they were too lazy to work I am sure this correct, Hopkins was one who never forgot nor forgave slurs

n Sunday evening, the President and Hopkins were to go rain to Hyde Park and Rosenman and I were flying back Vew York Before we left we offered somewhat self-con- us best wishes It has been grand fun, hasn't it!" said sevelt, with more warmth than accuracy "And, don't for- -the Missus is expecting you and Dorothy and Madeline supper Tuesday evening" As if anyone could forget an tation to Hyde Park to listen to the returns on election

night! (Dorothy was Mrs. Rosenman and Madeline my own wife, whom the President had met once but who was, of course, known to him immediately by her first name.)

The final Gallup poll showed Willkie so close to Roosevelt that, if the "trend" continued, the challenger might well have overtaken "The Champ" by dawn on election day. The Roper poll showed Roosevelt—55.2 per cent, Willkie—44.8 per cent, which was ½ of 1 per cent away from the final result.

I suppose that, on the day before every Presidential election in American history, each rival camp has been nerve racked with rumors that, at the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour, the opposition would come out with some unspeakable charges of corruption or personal scandal which could not possibly be answered and exposed until too late. I do not know whether this has ever actually happened, but it will probably always be expected, making for that much extra tension. I know I sat constantly at the radio that election eve. I heard a transcribed Republican broadcast that was bloodcurdling. It was addressed to that overworked audience, the Mothers of America, and delivered in the ominous, insidious tones of a murder mystery program: "When your boy is dying on some battlefield in Europe—or maybe in *Martinique*—and he's crying out, 'Mother! Mother!'—don't blame Franklin D. Roosevelt because he sent your boy to war—blame YOURSELF, because YOU sent Franklin D. Roosevelt back to the White House!" There was nothing new in that, however; that sort of threat had been uttered many times. (Martinique was mentioned because it was then the strongest Vichy outpost in the Western Hemisphere and there were rumors, not entirely baseless, that American troops might be sent to seize it.)

The Democrats had possession of the election eve airwaves from 10:00 P.M. to midnight and devoted these two hours to short speeches by Roosevelt. Hull, Carl Sandburg, Alexander Woollcott and Dorothy Thompson mixed in with a great deal of entertainment from Broadway and Hollywood. The Republicans had the radio from midnight to 2:00 A.M. There were no shocking last-minute surprises, and the next day 49,815,312 people went to the polls and voted—most of them, in all prob-

ability, having made up their minds before a single word of oratory had been uttered by either candidate. To one who had never before known anything from personal observation of the inner workings of politics it was overwhelming to think of this vast mass moving into the privacy of the balloting booth; they had been given every opportunity to listen to all the charges and countercharges, all the *ad hominem* thrusts and ripostes, all the promises and all the threats, all the formulae for a better future and the warnings that this was the "last stand for democracy", and now they could rest their eardrums and go on their own to render the verdict on which there cou be no appeal short of armed rebellion.

On election night, after a stand-up supper at Mrs Roosevel cottage, we drove through the Hyde Park woods, beloved I Franklin Roosevelt, to the big house to listen to the electic returns In a little room to the left off the front hall sat tl President's mother with several old lady friends They we sewing or knitting and chatting A radio was on, softly, b they seemed to be paying little attention to it In the big livi room there was another radio going and a large gathering weirdly assorted guests. The President was in the dining roo in his shirtsleeves, with his sons and his Uncle Fred Dela and members of his staff Large charts were littered on t dining table and news tickers were clattering in the pant The Roosevelt boys were excited, but not their father. M Eleanor Roosevelt moved about from one room to anoth seeing to the wants of the guests, apparently never pausing listen to the returns. If you asked her how she thought thin were going she would reply, impersonally, "I heard someo say that Willkie was doing quite well in Michigan," in exac the tone of one saying, "The gardener tells me the marigol are apt to be a bit late this year"

My wife and George Backer and I joined Hopkins in I bedroom He had a small, $15 radio, similar to the one he lat gave Churchill He had a chart and had been noting down few returns, but most of it was covered with doodles The fi returns early in the evening indicated that Willkie was show unexpected strength and Hopkins for a time seemed

freedom from responsibility. The chal- "campaign oratory"; he midst of an unprecedented world crisis, knew that he could not. Willkie could say that, if Roosevelt were elected, we might well be in a war by April, Roosevelt could not truthfully say that we would not, no matter who was elected. Day by day, Roosevelt had to read the intelligence from Tokyo, Madrid, Athens, Moscow, Chungking and everywhere else—he had to confront the somber facts of Britain's position which, in a matter of months or even weeks, would become utterly hopeless without some new form of aid as drastic as Lend Lease—and he could not step up on the rostrum at Madison Square Garden and recite these facts to the people Perhaps he might have done a better and more candid job of presenting his case. For my own part, I think it was a mistake for him to go so far in yielding to the hysterical demands for sweeping reassurance, but, unfortu- one s I as compared with the risk of losing the election I burn inwardly whenever I think of those words "again—and again—and again"

Roosevelt probably meant it when, in the Philadelphia speech, he said, "I am an old campaigner and I love a good fight." But he certainly was not enjoying himself when, a few days later, he was impelled to make those lame, equivocal speeches in Boston and New York By then, this was a fight that he despised. It left a smear on his record which only the accomplishments of the next five years could remove

CHAPTER IX

The White House

ONCE during the early New Deal years, Hopkins sai want to get ahead in Washington, don't waste your

Should the President on a dull day suggest casually to his friend and confidant, Harry L. Hopkins, that the national welfare would be served if Mr. Hopkins were to jump off the Washington Monument, the appointed hour would find Mr Hopkins poised for the plunge Whether with or without parachute would depend on what the President seemed to have in mind

Mr. Hopkins would know about that, for he has made a career of understanding, sensing, divining, often guessing—and usually guessing right—what is in Franklin Roosevelt's mind It is a career that has taken him from the dull routine of social-service work to the upper reaches of diplomacy, where he has had a thrilling preview of the shape of things to come And, what is more, history may show that he was one of the shapers

Hopkins did not have to do so much sensing, divining or guessing while he lived in the White House. He could traipse down the upstairs hall in his old dressing gown to the President's room and ask what his chief wanted done or not done about any given problem, and then act accordingly, without having to reveal to anyone that he was guided not by his own prejudices or hunches but by Roosevelt's express instructions

The quarters occupied by Hopkins for so long in the White House was a suite on the second floor, in the southeast corner. It consisted of one large bedroom, with a huge four-poster double bed, a small bedroom (used at first as office for Hopkins' secretary) and a bath The whole suite had originally been one room, with three high windows looking across the long lawn toward the Washington Monument, the Jefferson Memorial and the Virginia hills This had been Abraham Lincoln's study, and there was a plaque over the fireplace stating that the Emancipation Proclamation was signed here It was considered the best guest room and had been assigned to King George VI during his visit in 1939

There was a similar arrangement of rooms in each corner of the second floor In the southwest corner the large room was Mrs Roosevelt's sitting room and the small one was her bedroom. The northwest suite was for guests and contained the massive furniture used in Lincoln's bedroom The suite was also for guests It had been used by Queen and especially decorated for that occasion with beauti

ıurchill, being right across the hall from Hopkins.
d floor was bisected from east to west by a long,
hall. The eastern end was, for some reason, higher
t and approached by a short flight of steps, on
ber-matted ramp had been constructed for the
heelchair. This hall was furnished in a haphazard
re were low bookcases, containing some hundreds
ooks presented during the Roosevelt Administra-
American Booksellers Association; otherwise, the
se possessed no library of its own. On top of the
vere silver-framed, autographed photographs of
ads, most of them throneless. The hall could be
ith a projection booth and screen for the showing
pictures during the evening. Later, a regular pro-
was built along the colonnade leading to the new
outside the House itself. The west end of the hall,
ut off by a screen and some potted palms, was used
osevelt for small tea parties and sometimes the
ad dinner here with his family or members of his

outh side of the second floor, next to Hopkins'
stuffy sitting room, called the Monroe Room be-
he great Doctrine was written. Next to that was
t's Oval Study and off that his bedroom and bath.
the study, on the north side, were two smaller
ach with bath, which were usually allotted to Sam
nd me when we were there. On the wall of the room
imes occupied was an original of a colored cartoon.
ed by "McKay" and came, I think, from *Esquire*
t showed the exterior of a suburban house. The
on the porch in the background. A little girl on
path was calling mother's attention to a nasty little
ith fiendish malice, was chalking an inscription on

ion was, "Look, Mother—Wilfred wrote a bad
d the word was ROOSEVELT.

Before I ever went upstairs in the White House I had imagined it was permanently furnished like the ground floor and that living in it would be something like living in a museum. Such was certainly not the case. It seems that each new family that moves in can shift things around at will, convert bedrooms into offices or vice versa, and change not only the appearance but the very atmosphere of the place to suit its own tastes President Roosevelt's Oval Study—which was the focal point of the nation and, in a sense, of the whole world—had, I believe, been used hardly at all except as a formal reception room during the preceding Hoover Administration. On the walls were a great many of Roosevelt's old naval prints and portraits of his mother, his wife and John Paul Jones; there was also a dreadful-looking mechanical pipe-organ device which someone had presented to him but which he never learned how to operate.

The progressivism of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt certainly did not extend to interior decoration They did not hold with the modern American theory that furniture, curtains, etc., should be ornamental first and utilitarian second, nor that a certain uniformity of décor should be observed, with due regard for period and style as well as color scheme To them, a chair was something to sit down on—and all that one asked of it was comfort; a table was something to put things on and a wall was something to be covered with the greatest possible number of pictures of sentimental value Thus, the rooms occupied by the President and Mrs Roosevelt in the White House came to be as nearly as possible duplications of the rooms at Hyde Park, which seemed to have changed hardly at all in fifty years except as more enlarged snapshots of new children and ponies and sailboats were tacked up here and there The other upstairs bedrooms in the White House contained some furnishings that might have come out of an old and ultrarespectable summer resort hotel and some that appeared to have emerged from a W.P.A Arts and Crafts Project Although the appearance of these rooms must have given shudders of revulsion to any professional interior decorators who may have happened in—whether they were addicted to the Petit Trianon, Adam, early

American, Rococo or Modern Functional schools—there was a general sense of unstudied comfort and also of literal democracy. Most of the rooms were dingy with the darkness of southern mansions from which the sunlight is excluded by surrounding colonnades and big trees, but what the White House lacked in light it more than made up in warmth of hospitality. There was a remarkable air of small-town friendliness about the place which extended through all the varied members of the large staff, including the necessarily grim and suspicious Secret Service men and uniformed armed guards. You were made to feel really welcome.

On the third and top floor there were more guest rooms, used largely for the overflow of grandchildren at Christmas time and other family reunions, and there was a small bedroom and sitting room occupied by Missy LeHand which provided a pleasant retreat for those of us who were working in the White House. Missy was a lovely person and an extraordinarily level-headed one; the crippling illness which came upon her suddenly in 1941 and her subsequent death were severe blows for the President. In 1920, she had been in the stenographic pool of the Fleet Emergency Corporation and was called from that to work for Charles H. McCarthy, a friend of Franklin Roosevelt's and his manager in the unsuccessful Vice Presidential campaign of that year. After the election of Warren G. Harding, and the retreat to normalcy and isolationism, Missy was invited by Mrs. Roosevelt to come to Hyde Park to help clean up a huge accumulation of correspondence. Subsequently, Roosevelt became Vice President of the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland; Missy LeHand went with him as his secretary and continued in that capacity through his battle with infantile paralysis, his return to the practice of law and his service as Governor of New York. In 1933, she went with him to the White House, Grace Tully going along as her assistant and eventual successor. Grace also had worked at first for Mrs. Roosevelt, starting during the campaign of 1928. When the Roosevelts moved into the Executive Mansion in Albany, she went with them and remained with them. She was at the President's side in Warm Springs when he died and later be-

came Executive Secretary of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation.

The friendly atmosphere that prevailed in the White House was the creation of the people who were in it. When I looked at the faces of some of the past Presidents who glared down from the walls, I could imagine that there had been times when the atmosphere was painfully austere. There were doubtless other times when it was downright rowdy. In the years of Franklin Roosevelt the whole place was obviously filled with the fierce loyalty and warm affection that he inspired. If you could prove possession of these sentiments in abundance, you were accepted as a member of the family and treated accordingly.

Roosevelt started his day with breakfast in bed—generally wearing an old blue sweater over his pajama top or a blue cape with a red F.D.R. monogram on it. He wore the cape because a bathrobe was too difficult for him to put on; for the same reason, he wore a cape out of doors in cold weather instead of an overcoat. The usher on duty—Mr. Crim, Mr. Searles or Mr. Claunch—brought him the morning's dispatches and the social schedule which, in peacetime, is formidable enough to ruin the soundest digestion and to disrupt the most even temper but which was generally minimized in wartime. During breakfast he looked through the dispatches and read the newspapers with great speed but with remarkable care, seldom missing anything of importance to himself. In addition to the Washington papers, he read the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* and the *Baltimore Sun*. For years friends tried to talk him out of reading the *Chicago Tribune* but he evidently wanted to know the worst about himself. As he was finishing breakfast, his personal staff came in—usually General Edwin M. Watson, Stephen T. Early, Marvin H. McIntyre, William D. Hassett, Rosenman and Hopkins to discuss the work program for the day—appointments, press conferences, etc. The President's physician, Admiral Ross T. McIntire, would also be present to watch him closely for any indications of ill health. These morning sessions covered a great deal of ground in a very short time, for all the men participating

American, Rococo or Modern Functional schools—there was a general sense of unstudied comfort and also of literal democracy. Most of the rooms were dingy with the darkness of southern mansions from which the sunlight is excluded by surrounding colonnades and big trees, but what the White House lacked in light it more than made up in warmth of hospitality. There was a remarkable air of small-town friendliness about the place which extended through all the varied members of the large staff, including the necessarily grim and suspicious Secret Service men and uniformed armed guards. "ou were made to feel really welcome.

On the third and top floor there were more guest rooms, sed largely for the overflow of grandchildren at Christmas me and other family reunions, and there was a small bedoom and sitting room occupied by Missy LeHand which proided a pleasant retreat for those of us who were working in he White House. Missy was a lovely person and an extraorlinarily level-headed one; the crippling illness which came upon ier suddenly in 1941 and her subsequent death were severe lows for the President. In 1920, she had been in the steno;raphic pool of the Fleet Emergency Corporation and was alled from that to work for Charles H. McCarthy, a friend of 'ranklin Roosevelt's and his manager in the unsuccessful Vice 'residential campaign of that year. After the election of Warren ;. Harding, and the retreat to normalcy and isolationism, lissy was invited by Mrs. Roosevelt to come to Hyde Park to elp clean up a huge accumulation of correspondence. Subseuently, Roosevelt became Vice President of the Fidelity and)eposit Company of Maryland; Missy LeHand went with him s his secretary and continued in that capacity through his battle 'ith infantile paralysis, his return to the practice of law and is service as Governor of New York. In 1933, she went with im to the White House, Grace Tully going along as her asstant and eventual successor. Grace also had worked at first or Mrs. Roosevelt, starting during the campaign of 1928. When ie Roosevelts moved into the Executive Mansion in Albany, ie went with them and remained with them. She was at the resident's side in Warm Springs when he died and later be-

knew Roosevelt so well, and he trusted them so fully, that beatings about the bush were unnecessary. They could gauge his state of mind and its probable results during the day. As they left the bedroom, they could be heard muttering, "God help anybody who asks him for any favors today," or, "He feels so good he'll be telling Cotton Ed Smith that it's perfectly all right for the South to go ahead and secede."

General Watson, always known as "Pa," was a big, florid, jovial Virginian who was described by everybody as "lovable" and by a few as somewhat simple minded. The latter appraisal, sometimes carefully encouraged by Pa himself, was highly inaccurate. His soldierly bluffness and his personal sweetness masked a devastating astuteness in penetrating the disguises of others; few if any were the phonies who succeeded in fooling him. He had been the President's Military Aide from the beginnings of the Administration and, in the ordinary course of [illegible] would have been transferred long since to other duty [illegible] the Army; but he had become indispensable to Roosevelt as a tower of strength in every sense of the term. He had the highly responsible position of Presidential Secretary in charge of appointments. It was a difficult and delicate job and the measure of his success in it was the respect in which he was held by innumerable importunate people who hammered at him continually for a share of the President's time.

Steve Early was the ranking veteran in point of service—he had been a close friend of Roosevelt's since the Democratic Convention of 1912—and he was the only one of the original staff still alive when Roosevelt died. When he finally retired in June, 1945, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal by President Truman and the White House correspondents were unanimous for once in agreeing that he had earned it. Early was, like Watson, a Virginian and passionately loyal to his Chief, but otherwise there was no resemblance between the two men: Early was quick tempered and, being intolerant of the arts of diplomacy, felt no great urge to hide his emotions. (That may be the main reason for his survival.) A fine newspaperman himself, he was superlatively skillful in handling the President's frequently strained relations with the press. In this,

his unassailable candor was his greatest asset. He was rigorou
uninquisitive about White House secrets; he wanted to be t
no military plans, he wanted to avoid reading speeches
advance lest they contain some important announcement
policy, so that he could truthfully tell the Correspondents w
were [illegible]
as I d[illegible]
Frank[illegible]
agent's practice of fabricating news, or minting slogans, l
when he did have a story to release (and few were the days
the twelve years when he didn't) he knew how to "play" it
the last ounce of front-page headline value He suffered acut
from his Chief's tendency to snap back at the hostile press
there was nothing he could do about that Early's assistant, l
Hassett, was a man of great gentleness, he was scholarly
devoted and a good, quiet companion for Roosevelt when
wanted to get away from the hurly-burly of Washington.

Marvin McIntyre was another Washington newspaperm
An old friend of Josephus Daniels, he had served during
First World War as Chief of the Press Offices of the N
Department and it was then that he came into contact w
Franklin Roosevelt. In 1932, he traveled about the cour
with Roosevelt as Press Officer and then be[illegible] Secretary
charge of appointments in the White House,[illegible]ng the
ond term, illness made it impossible for him t[illegible]e in

knew Roosevelt so well, and he trusted them so fully, that beatings about the bush were unnecessary. They could gauge his state of mind and its probable results during the day. As they left the bedroom, they could be heard muttering, "God help anybody who asks him for any favors today," or, "He feels so good he'll be telling Cotton Ed Smith that it's perfectly all right for the South to go ahead and secede."

General Watson, always known as "Pa," was a big, florid, jovial Virginian who was described by everybody as "lovable" and by a few as somewhat simple minded. The latter appraisal, sometimes carefully encouraged by Pa himself, was highly inaccurate. His soldierly bluffness and his personal sweetness masked a devastating astuteness in penetrating the disguises of others; few if any were the phonies who succeeded in fooling him. He had been the President's Military Aide from the beginnings of the Administration and, in the ordinary course of events, would have been transferred long since to other duty in the Army; but he had become indispensable to Roosevelt as a tower of strength in every sense of the term. He had the ghly responsible position of Presidential Secretary in charge appointments. It was a difficult and delicate job and the measure of his success in it was the respect in which he was held by innumerable importunate people who hammered at him continually for a share of the President's time.

Steve Early was the ranking veteran in point of service—he had been a close friend of Roosevelt's since the Democratic Convention of 1912—and he was the only one of the original staff still alive when Roosevelt died. When he finally retired in June, 1945, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal by President Truman and the White House correspondents were unanimous for once in agreeing that he had earned it. Early was, like Watson, a Virginian and passionately loyal to his Chief, but otherwise there was no resemblance between the two men; Early was quick tempered and, being intolerant of the arts of diplomacy, felt no great urge to hide his emotions. (That may be the main reason for his survival.) A fine newspaperman himself, he was superlatively skillful in handling the President's frequently strained relations with the press. In this,

his unassailable candor was his greatest asset. He was rigorously uninquisitive about White House secrets, he wanted to be told no military plans, he wanted to avoid reading speeches in advance lest they contain some important announcement on policy, so that he could truthfully tell the Correspondents who were always on his doorstep, "You know as much about that as I do" He had sense enough to know that anyone working for Franklin D Roosevelt did not need to indulge in the press agent's practice of fabricating news, or minting slogans, but when he did have a story to release (and few were the days in the twelve years when he didn't) he knew how to "play" it for

George Fox, who had earned his way upward from the ranks in the Navy.

Aside from the Secretaries, there were a number of Administrative Assistants to the President, an anonymous and shifting group which included from time to time James Forrestal, James Rowe, David K. Niles, Lauchlin Currie and Jonathan Daniels. Their function was "to get information and to condense and summarize it for his [the President's] use." They had "no authority over anyone in any department or agency" and were expressly prohibited from "interposing themselves" between the President and any other officer of the government. The best description of the activities of these Assistants—known for their "passion for anonymity"—has been written by one of them, Daniels, in his *Frontier On The Potomac.*

The most important permanent White House official was the Executive Clerk, Rudolph Forster, who, with his Assistant and successor, Maurice Latta, was responsible for "the orderly handling of documents and correspondence" and the supervision of the large clerical staff. Both Forster and Latta had been in the White House since the McKinley Administration. For them, individual Presidents came and went, but the office went on forever, and so did the dozens and hundreds of state papers—laws, orders, commissions, etc.—which had to be properly signed and recorded and distributed every working day. It was a proud moment in Franklin Roosevelt's life when, in October 1944, as he was about to leave on a campaign trip, Forster came to him and, with the air of one who was willfully breaking all of the Ten Commandments but prepared to take the consequences, warmly shook his hand and wished him good luck. Forster stood outside the Executive Offices and waved as the President's car pulled away and Roosevelt said, with real emotion in his voice, "That's practically the first time in all these years that Rudolph has ever stepped out of character and spoken to me as if I were a human being instead of just another President."

All of the aides on the White House staff were, in effect, officials of the President's "household" and not officers in any chain of administrative command. Thus, the President before

intelligence service—or, as some disgruntled officers called it, "his own private Gestapo"

Harold Smith has said, "Before the Bureau was moved over, I often thought of the Presidency as a stately colonial mansion, in which lived and worked the most powerful individual in the most powerful nation on earth. Attached to that stately mansion was an old, rickety shanty or 'lean-to,' which was the Executive Office, the only work-shop available to that most powerful individual When the Bureau was moved over, we at least added one new wing with modern equipment and an adequate staff for one part of the work But another wing should be added, and I believe it would have been added if Roosevelt had been given time enough to finish his job"

The stately mansion in Smith's metaphor was the expression of the Presidential power as granted by the Constitution, and the shanty the expression of the manner in which the exercise of that power had been restricted by the Congress, ever jealous of its own prerogatives The cries of "dictatorship" raised against Roosevelt's reorganization proposals were much the same as those raised by the enemies of ratification of the Constitution, except that then the scare word used was "monarchy" The Federalists certainly fostered the principle of the strong Executive, restrained from excess but not hobbled from action by the system of checks and balances After the Administration of Jefferson, a strong President himself, but an apostle of decentralization, the original conception waned, being revived only when such strong individuals as Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson—aided by the exceptional circumstances of their times—chose to assert the power which had always been there from the beginning Franklin Roosevelt came into office, as did Lincoln, amid such conditions of domestic crisis that power to act in a rapid and even arbitrary manner was thrust upon him while a frightened Congress representing a frightened people meekly rubber-stamped his drastic proposals for recovery His ultimate measures of reorganization, which came fortuitously as the war emergency was mounting, did not add an iota to his constitutional powers but greatly facilitated his ability to exercise them.

more businesslike and more efficient" and also to "eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort" of the kind which produced the endless and often virulent jurisdictional disputes between Cabinet officers as well as lesser officials. This request for reorganization, however, came most unfortunately at a time when Roosevelt's prestige was low, following the Supreme Court fight and during the attempted purge. The cries of "would-be Dictator" were raised and it did Roosevelt no good to protest, "I have too much historical background and too much knowledge of existing dictatorships to make me desire any form of dictatorship for a democracy like the United States of America." He was defeated in the Congress, but a year later he managed to have a part of the Reorganization Bill enacted into law.

On September 8, 1939, the day when Roosevelt issued his "Limited National Emergency" Proclamation after the outbreak of war in Europe, he also issued an Executive Order which received scant attention in the press and the vital importance of which has never been even remotely apparent to the American people. It provided for reorganization of the Executive Office of the President and involved the transfer of the Bureau of the Budget to that office from the Treasury Department. I have heard this action compared to the invention of the radio as an asset to Roosevelt in his exercise of authority, and that is not so much of an exaggeration as one might think. In the Director of the Budget he acquired an operational officer, with a large and potent organization, who was responsible solely to himself in carrying out his over-all policies. The duties of this Director, Harold Smith, comprised far more than the mere keeping of books: he was enjoined, among other things, "to keep the President informed of the progress of activities by agencies of the Government with respect to work proposed, work actually initiated, and work completed." The Bureau of the Budget could and must send its agents into every Department of the government—into every American Mission abroad and every theater of war—to find out for the President himself exactly how the money was being spent, and by whom, and with what results. Thus, the Bureau was actually the President's personal

Harold Smith died, from sheer exhaustion, in January, 1947, and I never did learn from him just what he had in mind for that unbuilt wing of the Executive Offices, but it involved the regularization by law of the function that had been improvised for Hopkins by Roosevelt. No great amount of love was lost between Smith and Hopkins, who was indifferent to the problems of dollars and cents for which Smith was responsible. To one like Smith, who liked to have everything tidy, Hopkins' harum-scarum methods were naturally disturbing, and Hopkins was impatient with Smith's determination to count the cost. But there was a considerable amount of respect between the two men and the disputes they may have had were never permitted to trouble the President. As Smith saw the function that Hopkins should have performed—and which should have been duly provided for by Act of Congress—it was, roughly, that of a Cabinet Officer without Portfolio—a civilian Chief of Staff without much of a staff of his own but with constant access to the President's mind and to all the official intelligence available to that mind—an adviser on policy freed of the special interests and prejudices imposed on any officer who had special responsibility for any one phase of the total government effort. Hopkins came as close to filling that post as was possible in view of the fact that he had no legal authority whatever for it. Roosevelt could delegate all sorts of authority to him, but any Cabinet member who wanted to ignore this could do so, on firm legal grounds, and most of them did. The extraordinary fact was that the second most important individual in the United States Government during the most critical period of the world's greatest war had no legitimate official position nor even any desk of his own except a card table in his bedroom. However, the bedroom was in the White House.

As I have said, Hopkins did not originate policy and then convince Roosevelt it was right. He had too much intelligence as well as respect for his Chief to attempt the role of mastermind. He made it his job to provide a sounding board for discussions of the best means of attaining the goals that the President set for himself. Roosevelt liked to think out loud,

such as "common or garden," "clear as crystal," "rule of thumb, "neither here nor there," "armchair strategists," or "simple a ABC."

When he wanted to give a speech for some important pu pose, whether it was connected with a special occasion or no he would discuss it first at length with Hopkins, Rosenma and me, telling us what particular points he wanted to mak what sort of audience he wished primarily to reach and wh the maximum word limit was to be (he generally put it fa too low). He would dictate pages and pages, approaching h main topic, sometimes hitting it squarely on the nose wit terrific impact, sometimes rambling so far away from it th he couldn't get back, in which case he would say, "Well— something along those lines—you boys can fix it up." I thin he greatly enjoyed these sessions, when he felt free to sa anything he pleased, uttering all kinds of personal insults, wi the knowledge that none of it need appear in the final versio When he stopped dictating, because another appointment w due or it was time to go to bed, we would go to the Cabin Room in the West Wing and start reading through all th assembled material. The President kept a special "Speec Folder" into which he put newspaper clippings that he ha marked, indicating either his approval of some sentiment e pressed or indignation that such falsehood should get into pri (he could not always remember what the marking signified There were also all sorts of letters from all sorts of peopl known and unknown, containing suggestions as to what l should say, and there were random bits of his own dictatio thoughts that had suddenly occurred to him during precedir days and weeks which might be useful sometime. All of th material was sifted, and added to the newly dictated materi with the aid of scissors and paste and a few connecting clause until something resembling a coherent speech was put togeth and fair copies of it made. It was generally two or three tim too long. When the President was free to see us again, w handed him this draft and he looked immediately at the la page to see its number, whereupon he announced that at lea ninety-two per cent of it must be cut. He then started to rea

through it, pausing frequently to dictate "Insert A," "Insert G," etc. Each time he decided to dictate something he said, "Grace —take a law," a line he gladly borrowed from the Kaufman-Hart-Rodgers musical show, "I'd Rather Be Right," in which George M. Cohan played the part of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The President himself had never seen this show but he enjoyed what he heard about it.

When he had finished dictating inserts, the speech was far longer than it had been and farther from any coherent form. We then returned to the Cabinet Room and started a second draft. This process went on day and night Sometimes, while the work was in progress, events would intervene—for instance: on a Sunday evening in July, 1943, we were at Shangri-la finishing up a speech devoted primarily to home-front problems—price stabilization, rationing, manpower, etc.—when news came of the fall of Benito Mussolini, and the speech had to be started all over again, this, however, was a pleasure for all

Most of Rc [illegible]
evening. We [illegible]
in the Oval S[illegible]
the tray before him He mixed the ingredients with the deliberation of an alchemist but with what appeared to be a certain lack of precision since he carried on a steady conversation while doing it His bourbon old-fashioneds were excellent, but I did not care for his Martinis, in which he used two kinds of vermouth (when he had them) and sometimes a dash of absinthe. Hopkins occasionally talked him into making Scotch whisky sours, although he didn't really like them. The usual canapés of cream cheese or fish paste on small circles of toast were served, also popcorn Roosevelt was an extremely mild drinker—he did not have wine with meals except at large, formal dinners, and I don't recall ever having seen him drink brandy or other liqueurs or a highball; but he certainly loved the cocktail period and the stream of small talk that went with it.

Dinner was generally served in the study about 7:45. It ill becomes a guest to say so, but the White House [illegible] did not enjoy a very high reputation. The food was p[illegible]

when simple, good—but the chef had a tendency to run amuck on fancy salads. There was one favorite in particular which resembled the productions one finds in the flossier type of tea shoppe: it was a mountain of mayonnaise, slices of canned pineapple, carved radishes, etc. It was served frequently and each time the President merely looked at it and shook his head and murmured sadly, "No, thank you." Once when this happened, Sam Rosenman laughed and said, "Mr. President, you've been in this House for eight years, and for all I know you'll be here eight years more—but they'll never give up trying to persuade you to find out what that salad really tastes like." Roosevelt was always grateful for delicacies, particularly game, which friends sent in to enliven his diet. I never heard him complain about food or anything else in the way of service, but he did complain bitterly about the security supervision of every article of food sent to him. Once he said, "I happen to be very fond of roasted peanuts. But if somebody wanted to send me a bag of peanuts, the Secret Service would have to X-ray it and the Department of Agriculture would have to open every shell and test every kernel for poison or high explosives. So, to save trouble, they would just throw the bag away and never tell me about it." Deeply moved by this, Rosenman and I went to the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 15th Street and bought a large bag of peanuts and sneaked it in to the President. He put it under his coat and ate the whole contents.

After dinner he sat on the couch to the left of the fireplace, his feet up on the stool specially built for him, and started reading the latest speech draft. Grace Tully sat next to him, taking more dictation until Dorothy Brady or Toinette Bachelder came in to relieve her. Sometimes Roosevelt read the speech out loud, to see how it sounded, for every word was judged not by its appearance in print but by its effectiveness over the radio. About 10 o'clock, a tray with drinks was brought in. The President sometimes had a glass of beer but more often a horse's neck (ginger ale and lemon peel). He was by now yawning and losing interest in the speech and he usually went to bed before eleven. During these evening sessions, the telephone almost never rang. Now and then a dispatch might be

rought in, which Roosevelt would read and pass on to Hopkins without a word or a change of expression, but otherwise one would have thought this house the most peaceful, remote retreat in a war-wracked world.

After leaving the Study, we would spend most of the night in the Cabinet Room producing another draft which would go to the President with his breakfast in the morning. Sometimes we would send a call for help to Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, who would come in late at night to help bring a diffuse speech into focus. More than once, before the White House windows were blacked out after Pearl Harbor, Mrs. Roosevelt saw the lights burning in the Cabinet Room at 3:00 A.M. and telephoned down to tell us we were working too hard and should go to bed. Of course, the fact was that she herself was sitting up working at that hour.

We had to get up early in the morning to be ready for sum-ons in case the President wanted to work on the speech before is first appointment. We generally had breakfast on trays i Hopkins' room and it was rarely a cheerful gathering. The dra that had been completed a few hours previously looked aw in the morning light and the judgment on it that we most of expressed was, "I only hope that the reputation of Fran Delano Roosevelt does not depend on this terrible speech."

After the session in the President's bedroom, Rosenma I went over to the Cabinet Room to await the summons signal bells announced the President's approach to his and we stood by the French windows leading out to the nade and watched him go by in his armless, cushionl comfortable wheelchair, pushed by his Negro valet, Ch Officer Arthur Prettyman. Accompanying him was t of Secret Service men, some of them carrying the la llowing wire baskets of papers on which he had bee the night before and the dispatches that had co morning. When Fala came abreast of the wheelchai along, Roosevelt would reach down and scratch hi progress to the day's work by a crippled man was a ...apid imagination, for here was a cle... people believed him to be-

the cigarette holder tilted at what was always described as "a jaunty angle" and the air of irrepressible confidence that whatever problems the day might bring, he would find a way to handle them. The fact that this confidence was not always justified made it none the less authentic and reassuring.

When I saw the President go by on these mornings, I felt that nobody who worked for him had a right to feel tired. That was not an unusual feeling: it went all through the wartime Administration in Washington, extending to all sorts of people, some of whom disagreed with him politically and most of whom never laid eyes on him. It was, I think, Henry Pringle who, when working in a government agency shortly after Pearl Harbor, suggested as a wall slogan for bureaucrats' offices: EXHAUSTION IS NOT ENOUGH!

The speeches had to be checked and counterchecked with various departments and agencies, most of all with the Army and Navy; many speeches that were sent over to the War Department came back with corrections and suggestions penciled in the handwriting of General Marshall. The work of the so-called "ghost writers" consisted largely of the painstaking, arduous verification of facts and figures. We felt, "The *New York Times* can make mistakes—the *World Almanac* can make mistakes—but the President of the United States must not make mistakes." This constant thought imposed a harrowing responsibility. After 1940, the White House had its resident statistician—Isador Lubin, the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, who was constantly available and incalculably valuable to Roosevelt and Hopkins in checking every decimal point.

Although the speeches were usually seen in advance by the War and Navy Departments and sometimes (though not always) by the State Department, they were kept otherwise under close wraps of secrecy. There were always various eminent officials who wanted to know what the President was going to say. They were particularly anxious to make sure that he was going to include the several pages of material that they had submitted on their own particular departments. They knew they could get nowhere with Hopkins in their quest of inside information; so they concentrated on Rosenman, who

would fob them off with the misstatement that, "The President is weighing that in his mind right now." We used to derive enjoyment from the thought of various important personages around Washington listening to the Presidential broadcasts and then, as the strains of "The Star Spangled Banner" broke out at the finish, cursing, "He didn't use a *word* of that stuff that I sent him." It was even more enjoyable to picture the amazed expression of some anonymous citizen in Council Bluffs who had written a letter to the President and then heard something from that letter incorporated in a Fireside Chat.

On the final two days of preparation of a speech Roosevelt would really buckle down to serious work and then what had seemed a formless, aimless mess of words would begin to assume tautness and sharpness He studied every implication for its effect on various groups in the nation and on allies and enemies and neutrals He paid a great deal of attention to the punctuation, not for its correctness but for its aid or hindrance to him in reading the speech aloud Grace Tully liked to insert a great many commas, and the President loved to strike them out. He once said to her, "Grace! How many times do I have to tell you not to waste the taxpayers' commas?" He liked dashes, which were visual aids, and hated semicolons and parentheses I don't think he ever used the sonorous phrase "And I quote—." If he had to have quotation marks, he did not refer to them, knowing they would appear in the printed version.

In the final draft of a speech, every word was counted and Roosevelt finally decided the precise number that he would be able to crowd into thirty minutes His sense of timing was phenomenal. His normal rate was 100 words a minute, but he would say, "There are some paragraphs in this speech that I can take quickly so I can handle a total of 3,150 words"—and that did not mean 3,162 At other times, he would feel that he had to be deliberate in his delivery and the words would have to be cut to 2,800 This cutting was the most difficult work of all because, by the time we had come to the ninth or tenth draft, we felt sure the speech had been boiled down to the ultimate monosyllable. Roosevelt's estimates were rarely o

than a split second on his broadcasts. Speeches before audiences were difficult to estimate, of course, because crowd responses are unpredictable, but he was generally accurate even on these. In the Teamsters' speech, the roars of laughter and applause were so frequent and prolonged that the speech ran some fifteen minutes overtime, but that did not upset Roosevelt at all despite the fact that, since it was a campaign speech, the Democratic National Committee had to pay the heavy excess charges.

When a speech was finally closed up, about six o'clock in the evening, the President was wheeled over to Dr. McIntire's office for the sinus treatments that were a regular part of his day. Then he went upstairs for cocktails and dinner, after which he chatted or worked on his correspondence or his stamp albums, without seeming to give much attention to the final reading copy of his speech which was typed on special limp aper, to avoid rustling noises as he turned the pages, and bound in a black leather loose-leaf folder. But when he started to broadcast he seemed to know it by heart. When he looked down at his manuscript, he was usually not looking at the words he was then speaking but at the next paragraph to determine where he would put his pauses and which of his large assortment of inflections he would employ. As one who has had considerable experience in the theater, I marveled at the unfailing precision with which he made his points, his grace in reconciling the sublime with the ridiculous, as though he had been rehearsing these lines for weeks and delivering them before audiences for months. Those who worked with him on speeches were all too well aware that he was no slave to his prepared text. He could and did ad-lib at will, and that was something which always amused him greatly. During the days of preparation, Hopkins, Rosenman and I would sometimes unite in opposition to some line, usually of [illegible] nature, which the President wanted to inc[illegible]ity to make every effort to avoid being [illegible] at him until we had persuaded him th[illegible] out; but, if he really liked it well en[illegible] and then [illegible]

mensely good humored about the arguments we offered him —he liked to appear persecuted and complain that "They won't let me say anything of my own in my own speech." There were times, however, when he was worn out and angered by something else and then he would be cantankerous with us because we were the only convenient targets; we learned that on such occasions it was best to shut up and to revive our arguments later after he had had some rest and felt more amiable. Referring again to my experience in the theater, I can testify that he was normally the most untemperamental genius I have ever encountered That is one of the reasons why he was able to sleep so well at night

[illegible]

and dictate some of the things you've just been saying to me?" Sandburg did so and said, among other things:

> The Gettysburg speech of Abraham Lincoln or the farewell address of Robert E Lee to his Army, would be, in our American street talk, "just a lot of words, unless we look behind the words, unless we see words throwing long shadows—and out of the shadows arises the mystery of man consecrated to mystic causes
>
> If we go back across American history we find that as a nation among the other nations of the world this country has never kept silence as to what it stands for For a hundred and fifty years and more we have told the world that the American Republic stands for a certain way of life No matter what happened to the map of Europe, no matter what changes of government and systems went on there, no matter what old thrones and dynasties crashed to make way for something else, no matter what new philosophies and orbits of influence were proclaimed, America never kept silence

Despite his strenuous avoidance of solemnity, and the frivolousness and irrelevance of his small talk when he was off the record, Roosevelt knew that he was the voice of America to the rest of the world In the darkest days before and after Pearl Harbor he expressed the hopes of civilized humanity Churchill's was the gallant voice of the unconquerable warrior, but Roosevelt's was the voice of liberation, the reassurance of the dignity of man. His buoyancy, his courage, his confidence re-

newed hope in those who feared that they had forever lost it. Roosevelt seemed to take his speeches lightly, but no one knew better than he that, once he had the microphone before him, he was speaking for the eternal record—his words were, as Sandburg said, "throwing long shadows."

In a foreword to an anthology of Roosevelt speeches, Harry Hopkins wrote:

> Roosevelt made many great speeches. But some were not so good. He occasionally did not try, because he was frankly bored. A President of the United States has to speak many times on subjects which do not interest him. He would prefer to read a book or go to bed.

This was particularly true of the last two years of Roosevelt's life, when he made just as few speeches as possible and rarely appeared to take a great deal of interest in those that he did make. The time of challenge when words were the only weapons had at last passed and great and terrible events were speaking for themselves. He seemed to relax to save himself for the time when events would cease and words would again become the instruments of international politics.

PART II: *1941—MORE THAN MERE WORDS*

CHAPTER X

The Garden Hose

IMMEDIATELY after election day, the major problem confronting Roosevelt was one that had not been mentioned either by him or by Willkie during the campaigns: Great Britain was on the verge of bankruptcy in terms of dollar credits. Her balances which had amounted to four and a half billion dollars before the war were gone, including the holdings in America of British individuals which had been expropriated by His

Majesty's Government and liquidated. It was obvious that Britain could not survive much longer without supplies from the United States and, under the "Cash and Carry" law, she could not obtain these supplies without dollars. In the earliest discussions of this problem Roosevelt began to say, "We must find some way to lease or even lend these goods to the British." and from this came the vast concept which Churchill later described as "a new *Magna Carta* . . . the most unselfish and unsordid financial act of any country in all history."

In mid-November the German Air Force, defeated in the Battle of Britain, gave a shocking demonstration of its power in the intense raid on Coventry in which more than a thousand people were killed or wounded. This saturation bombing was extended to one British town after another, the propagandists in Berlin boasting that the whole island was to be systematically "Coventryized." while the Blitz on London continued with deadly monotony. Toward the end of November, the British Ambassador, Lord Lothian, returned to Washington from a trip to London and saw the President. At a press conference (on November 26) Roosevelt was asked

> *Question* Mr. President, did the British Ambassador present any specific requests for additional help?
>
> *The President* I am sorry. I shall have to disappoint quite a number of papers, nothing was mentioned in that regard at all, not one single thing—ships or sealing wax or anything else.
>
> (Laughter)

It is doubtful that Lord Lothian was greatly amused at the time, for his country's stock was very low and Roosevelt did not appear to be in any hurry in coming to the rescue. There had been a notable British victory in the Mediterranean when dive bombers of the Royal Navy Air Arm inflicted heavy damage on Italian ships lying in apparent security at their Taranto base. (This action, by the way, might have been [illegible]

Wavell, commanding the British forces in Egypt, had been so strongly reinforced with troops and guns and armor from the United Kingdom that he was ready to take the offensive

st the Italians and drive into Libya. However, it was im-
ible to be greatly impressed by victories over Mussolini's
ctant legions, who were then being subjected to a severe
l humiliating mauling by the surprising Greek Army. The
erman monster remained, relatively quiet on land for the
oment, but always absorbing new strength while preparing
or the delivery of the next devastating attack. Any and all local
victories that might be gained in the Mediterranean would be
inconsequential unless the United States were to provide for-
midable aid before the "invasion season" should be reopened
on the English Channel in the spring.

It seemed to some alarmed British officials that Roosevelt, following his victory at the polls, had lost interest in the war situation—or at any rate, was blithely wasting the time that was running so short. On December 2, the President left Washington as carefree as you please for a Caribbean cruise on *U.S.S. Tuscaloosa*, taking with him only his immediate staff—Pa Watson, Dr. McIntire and Captain Callaghan—with Harry Hopkins as the only guest, and it was noted that the party included no one qualified to advise or even consult on the grievous problems of Europe and the Far East. The White House announced that the main purpose of the cruise would be to inspect some of the new base sites recently acquired in the West Indies, but those most familiar with Roosevelt's vacation habits suspected that such inspections might be somewhat desultory and superficial and that the main business of each day would be fishing basking in the sun and spoofing with cronies. This impressio was borne out by the scraps of news sent back by the thr press association representatives on the trip—Thomas F. Re nolds, Douglas B. Cornell and George E. Durno. It seem that this cruise was about the same as all others when Ro velt had nothing graver to worry about than the Hopk Ickes feud.

At Guantanamo Bay, a large stock of Cuban cigars wa chased. At Jamaica, St. Lucia and Antigua, the President tained British colonial officials and their ladies at lun Eleuthera Island he was visited by the Duke of Windso ernor General of the Bahamas; he told the Duke that

length with the critical problems of production and shipping and explained the dangers to both from the persistent attacks by bombers and U-boats. He stated Britain's present financial position in a few, blunt words. He asked for more destroyers either by a process of gift or loan. He concluded this memorable document with an expression of confidence that the American nation would support Britain's cause and meet her urgent needs, but he offered no suggestions as to how the President was to go about accomplishing all this with the Congress and the people.

This message from the Prime Minister had a profound effect on Roosevelt, and it filled Hopkins with a desire to get to know Churchill and to find out how much of him was mere grandiloence and how much of him was hard fact.

Three days after Roosevelt read that letter, he received a dio message from Secretary Hull informing him of the sudn death of Lord Lothian. Roosevelt immediately sent a mesge through the State Department to King George VI in ɿich he said that he was shocked beyond measure to hear of e death of his old friend, and that he was certain that the last essage that Lord Lothian would wish to give to the world ɪs that victory must and will come in this war.

This was no perfunctory expression of routine regret. Lord thian had been a notably successful Ambassador. A Liberal d a close associate of Lloyd George in the First World War, was well qualified to talk Roosevelt's language and, in turn, interpret Roosevelt to Churchill. He had been able to underɪnd, as a less flexible Briton might have failed to do, the ɪnifold domestic obstacles that beset Roosevelt's path and he ɔst scrupulously avoided adding to the President's embarrassents by making excessive, impatient demands. His loss at is particular moment was a severe one, for he seemed almost eplaceable.

The following day, when homeward bound, Roosevelt held a press conference with the three correspondents, and talked affably about some of the advantages and disadvantages that he had noted in the various base sites visited, but he gave them nothing in the way of news calculated to cause the slightest

excitement in their home offices. It still seemed that he had spent two weeks in a state of total relaxation and utter indifference toward the prospects of world calamity.

That, however, was only as it seemed.

Hopkins said later, "I didn't know for quite awhile what he was thinking about, if anything But then—I began to get the idea that he was refueling, the way he so often does when he s [illegible] ies-
t [illegible] the
v [illegible] it
c [illegible] nd
that he'd find a way to do it."

That "refueling" process was a vital function for Roosevelt. Nobody that I know of has been able to give any convincing explanation of how it operated. He did not seem to talk much about the subject in hand, or to consult the advice of others, or to "read up" on it. On this occasion he had Churchill's remarkable letter to provide food for thought, but this—though it was a masterly statement of the problems involved, of which Roosevelt was already quite well aware—presented no key to the solution other than an expression of confidence that "ways and means will be found"

One can only say that Roosevelt, a creative artist in politics, had put in his time on this cruise evolving the pattern of a masterpiece, and once he could see it clearly in his own mind's eye, he made it quickly and very simply clear to all.

On December 16, he returned to Washington, tanned and exuberant and jaunty. The next day, he held a press conference, starting off with his usual statement that, "I don't think there is any particular news. . " Having thus paved the way, he said, "There is absolutely no doubt in the mind of a very overwhelming number of Americans that the best immediate defense of the United States is the success of Britain in defending itself" Then he jumped back to the outbreak of the First World War and told an anecdote at the expense of bankers on the Bar Harbor Express "In all history," he said, "no major war has ever been lost through lack of money." He went on to say that some people thought we should lend money to Britain for

the purchase of American matériel, while other people thought we should deliver it as an outright gift. Roosevelt described this kind of thinking as "banal." (Actually, there were very few people who seriously made such ridiculous suggestions, neither one of which would have stood a chance in Congress; but Roosevelt brought them into his introduction to show what a reasonable middle-of-the-roader he really was.) He said,

> Now, what I am trying to do is eliminate the dollar sign. That is something brand new in the thoughts of everybody in this room, I think—get rid of the silly, foolish, old dollar sign.
>
> Well, let me give you an illustration. Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose . . .

I believe it may accurately be said that with that neighborly analogy, Roosevelt won the fight for Lend Lease. There were to be two months of some of the bitterest debates in American history, but through it all the American people as a whole maintained the conviction that there couldn't be anything very radical or very dangerous in the President's proposal to lend our garden hose to the British who were fighting so heroically against such fearful odds. There were probably very few who had any expectation that we would ever get the hose back; there was indeed a devout popular hope that this new measure would eliminate the possibility of another twenty years of fruitless bickering and niggling over war debts.

Following the press conference, Roosevelt determined to go on the air with a Fireside Chat to explain the seriousness of the war situation. He could not give much attention to the speech until after Christmas, which was always a real, old-fashioned family festival in the White House, with aunts and uncles, children and grandchildren, stockings and packages galore, and invariably a highly dramatic reading by the President of *A Christmas Carol.* In his message to the American people he said, "Let us make this Christmas a merry one for the little children in our midst. For us of maturer years it cannot be merry." This well-meant statement was not really true in Roosevelt's own case; for him, with his superhuman resilience, any occasion under almost any circumstances could be merry; I am

sure his Christmas was merry when first he was felled by disease and had not yet regained the power to move.

In the preparation of the Fireside Chat (delivered December 29) Hopkins provided the key phrase which had already been used in some newspaper editorial: "We must be the great arsenal of democracy." I have been told that the phrase was originated by William S. Knudsen and also by Jean Monnet, but whoever originated it, Roosevelt was the one who proclaimed it. There was some debate at first over its use by the President, since it might seem to preclude the eventual extension of aid to the Soviet Union or to certain Latin American "republics," but the phrase was too good to be stopped by any quibbles Roosevelt really enjoyed working on this speech for, with the political campaign over, it was the first chance he had had in months and even years to speak his mind with comparative freedom. He had indulged himself once, six months previously, in the "stab in the back" reference, but the political consequences of that were so awkward that he had felt compelled subsequently to confine himself to the most namby-pamby euphemisms in all references to the international situation. Now, for the first time, he could mention the Nazis by name. He could lash out against the apostles of appeasement. He could say, "We cannot escape danger, or the fear of danger, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads" He could speak plainly on the subject which was always in his mind—the disastrous folly of any attempt at a negotiated peace. He said

> A nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender. .
>
> Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history
>
> All of us, in all the Americas, would be living at the point of a Nazi gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military

That was Roosevelt's profound belief. It was an essential essence in the formulation of all his wartime policies. He re-

peated it over and over again, but there were more than a f
in the United States and in other countries who remained p
manently convinced, that Britain would have done better
come to terms with the Nazis, and China with the warlords
Japan.

As Roosevelt sat at the end of the long table in the Cabi
Room working on that speech and other speeches during
war years, he would look up at the portrait of Woodrow W
son, over the mantelpiece. The tragedy of Wilson was alw
somewhere within the rim of his consciousness. Roosevelt co
never forget Wilson's mistakes, which had been made with
noblest will in the world, impelled by the purest concept of
Christian ethic. Wilson had advocated "peace without victo
he had produced the Fourteen Points as a basis on which G
many could surrender honorably. The violation of these prin
ples had plagued the postwar world, had led to the rise of Hi
and a Second World War, and there was no motivating fo
in all of Roosevelt's wartime political policy stronger than
determination to prevent repetition of the same mistakes.

The "arsenal of democracy" speech was one of the m
tightly packed of all the Fireside Chats. It had to cover the r
of the world. There were innumerable points for inclusion,
cluding the danger to Ireland and the Azores, the aid to G
many rendered by the Soviet Union and Sweden, the prese
of our Fleet in the Pacific, bottlenecks in production, the M
roe Doctrine and B-29s (which were not mentioned by nam
When, after days and nights of hard labor, the speech was
something like its final form, it was sent over to the State
partment for comment—of which plenty was forthcom
The Department's suggested insertions and deletions w
marked on the draft with a red pencil.

At one point in the speech, Roosevelt spoke of the agent
the fifth column operating throughout the United States
Latin America. Then followed the sentence, "There are
American citizens, *many of them in high places,* who, unw
tingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of th
agents."

The words that [illegible] back from the S

Department circled in red to indicate they should be cut out. When Roosevelt read this draft and saw that mark, he asked, "Who put this red line in here?" We explained that the State Department suggested it would be well to delete these dangerous words.

"Oh, *do* they!" he said. "Very well. We'll change it to read: 'There are also American citizens, many of them in high places—*especially in the State Department*—and so forth.'"

During the very last session on the speech late in the afternoon of the day it was to be delivered, Hopkins said, "Mr. President—do you feel that you could include in this speech some kind of optimistic statement that will hearten the people who are doing the fighting—the British, the Greeks and the Chinese?" Roosevelt thought that over for a long time, tilting his head back, pulling out his cheeks as was his habit. At length he dictated: "I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information." Rosenman and I wondered at the time what that "latest and best information" could be. We learned later from Hopkins that it was no more than Roosevelt's own, private confidence that Lend Lease would go through and his certainty that this measure would make Axis victory impossible. Otherwise, his secret sources of information were not a great deal better than were those of the *New York Times* or the *Chicago Daily News* and were in some important respects shockingly inaccurate.

On the night when Roosevelt gave his Fireside Chat, the Germans subjected London to one of the heaviest bombings of the war; this was the raid in which so large a part of the city was destroyed by fire, St. Paul's Cathedral escaping miraculously. The Germans used this psychological warfare trick frequently on Roosevelt speeches, and as later did the [illegible] They timed the creation of some major disturbance in [illegible] that it would blanket the speech in the headlines and [illegible] mitigate the effect that Roosevelt's words would [illegible] American and British morale. But they needed far more [illegible] and bombers than they possessed to nullify the force [illegible] these words, "the arsenal of democracy."

The Lend-Lease Bill was drafted largely in the T[illegible]

peated it over and over again, but there were more than a few in the United States and in other countries who remained permanently convinced that Britain would have done better to come to terms with the Nazis, and China with the warlords of Japan.

As Roosevelt sat at the end of the long table in the Cabinet Room working on that speech and other speeches during the war years, he would look up at the portrait of Woodrow Wilson, over the mantelpiece. The tragedy of Wilson was always somewhere within the rim of his consciousness. Roosevelt could never forget Wilson's mistakes, which had been made with the noblest will in the world, impelled by the purest concept of the Christian ethic. Wilson had advocated "peace without victory," ...d produced the Fourteen Points as a basis on which Ger... could surrender honorably. The violation of these princi... had plagued the postwar world, had led to the rise of Hitler ...d a Second World War, and there was no motivating force in all of Roosevelt's wartime political policy stronger than the determination to prevent repetition of the same mistakes.

The "arsenal of democracy" speech was one of the most tightly packed of all the Fireside Chats. It had to cover the map of the world. There were innumerable points for inclusion, including the danger to Ireland and the Azores, the aid to Germany rendered by the Soviet Union and Sweden, the presence of our Fleet in the Pacific, bottlenecks in production, the Monroe Doctrine and B-29s (which were not mentioned by name). When, after days and nights of hard labor, the speech was in something like its final form, it was sent over to the State Department for comment—of which plenty was forthcoming. The Department's suggested insertion... deletions were marked on the draft with a red pencil

At one point in the speech, Roose... agents of the fifth column operating through... States and Latin America. Then followed the ... are also American citizens, *many of them i*... who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and ...k of thes...

...s that I have italicized ... the Sta...

President's behalf in the campaign against Willkie
his weight behind Lend Lease Some of the New
ch as Henry Wallace, who had been hesitant about
, the President's foreign policy, were now realizing
olved something more than a mere surrender to
nperialism" So, for the first time in years, the Ad-
ion presented a united front to the Congress Further-
oosevelt had been given over twenty-seven million
the American people, and those votes were the kind
that Congressmen ignore at their peril

e was still plenty of venom Senator Burton K Wheeler,
himself just been re-elected and was therefore safe
he voters for another six years (they defeated him in
, coined a slogan to the effect that Lend Lease would
"ploughing under every fourth American boy" Roose-
scribed this as "the most untruthful, the most dastardly,
hing that has been said in public life in my genera-
me on that"

was the end of the period
protect its own
the

partment by Edward H. Foley, General Counsel, and his assistant, Oscar Cox, who subsequently became General Counsel for Lend Lease and one of Hopkins' most brilliant aides. Important spadework on the whole British financial problem had previously been done by another Treasury lawyer, Herman Oliphant, who had literally killed himself in the process. The War Department had been working along similar lines, for both Stimson and Marshall had been determined to break through the legal restrictions preventing aid for Britain, not because of any sentimental attachment to the land of Shakespeare, Keats and leafy lanes, but because it was their duty to promote the interests of our national security. An old statute of 1892 had been dug out of the files, whereby Congress authorized the Secretary of War to lease Army property "when in his

CHAPTER XI

No. 10 Downing Street

[...]o Christmas, 1940, Roosevelt was mulling over the [...]ous implications of the letter he had received from [...]hill, particularly in relation to the strategic importance [...]land and the part that the United States might play in [...]iations with De Valera. The names of such eminent Irish-[...]ricans as Joseph P. Kennedy and William J. Donovan [...]e mentioned as possible emissaries. Roosevelt said, "You know—a lot of this could be settled if Churchill anc [...]ould just sit down together for awhile."

"What's stopping you?" Hopkins asked.

"Well—it couldn't be arranged right now. They have no Ambassador here—we have none over there."

The gleam of high adventure came into Hopkins' sharp eyes. "How about me going over, Mr. President?"

Roosevelt turned that suggestion down cold. He pointed to all the work he had ahead of him—a State of the Union Message, a gigantic budget, the Third Inaugural, the Lend-Lease fight.

"I'll be of no use to you in that fight," said Hopkins. "They' never pay any attention to my views, except to vote the oth[...] way. But—if I had been in England and seen it with my ov[...] eyes, then I might be of some help."

Still Roosevelt refused to hear of such a proposal. However, Hopkins now had an idea that seemed to him eminently sound, and certainly intensely exciting, and he would not let go of it. He enlisted the aid of Missy LeHand and of Justice Felix Frankfurter who seldom offered any advice to Roosevelt after his elevation to the Supreme Court, but who was listened to when he did speak.

Roosevelt remained obdurate and, after days of intensive effort, Hopkins was about ready to give up. We were workin[...] at the time on the Message to Congress. It was the one whic[...] proclaimed the Four Freedoms. Nobody ghost-wrote thos[...]

Roosevelt had mentioned them somewhat casually at a press conference six months previously when asked a question about his long-term peace objective. There were then five freedoms—two of them coming under the heading of "Freedom of Speech." Roosevelt had no name in mind for the Third Freedom, though he was clear about its social import, and Richard L. Harkness of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* suggested it be called, "Freedom From Want." After that conference the Freedoms were forgotten until Roosevelt suddenly recalled them to us on New Year's, 1941

On the morning of January 3, Hopkins was in his room when Steve Early telephoned from the West Wing to say, "Congratulations!"

"On what?" said Hopkins.

"Your trip!"

"What trip?" Hopkins suspected some ill-timed joke inspired, no doubt, by Roosevelt himself

"Your trip to England," said Early. "The President just announced it at his press conference"

Two days later, Hopkins was off

Roosevelt had told the press that Hopkins would go "as my personal representative for a very short trip—a couple of weeks—just to maintain—I suppose that is the word for it—personal relations between me and the British Government'

The questions followed

> *Q* Does Mr Hopkins have any special mission, Mr President?
> *The President* No, no, no!
> *Q* Any title?
> *The President* No, no!
> *Q* Mr President, is it safe to say Mr Hopkins will not be the next Ambassador?
> *The President.* You know Harry isn't strong enough for that job
> *Q* Will he be on the government pay roll?
> *The President* I suppose they will pay his expenses—probably on a per diem, not very large—either for you or Hopkins!
> (Laughter)
> *Q* Will anyone accompany Mr Hopkins?
> *The President* No And he will have no powers
> *Q.* Will he have any mission to perform?

CHAPTER XI

No. 10 Downing Street

AROUND Christmas, 1940, Roosevelt was mulling over the numerous implications of the letter he had received from Churchill, particularly in relation to the strategic importance of Ireland and the part that the United States might play in negotiations with De Valera. The names of such eminent Irish-Americans as Joseph P. Kennedy and William J. Donovan were mentioned as possible emissaries. Roosevelt said,

"You know—a lot of this could be settled if Churchill and I could just sit down together for awhile."

"What's stopping you?" Hopkins asked.

"Well—it couldn't be arranged right now. They have no mbassador here—we have none over there."

The gleam of high adventure came into Hopkins' sharp yes. "How about me going over, Mr. President?"

Roosevelt turned that suggestion down cold. He pointed to ll the work he had ahead of him—a State of the Union Mes-age, a gigantic budget, the Third Inaugural, the Lend-Lease ght.

"I'll be of no use to you in that fight," said Hopkins. "They'd ever pay any attention to my views, except to vote the other ay. But—if I had been in England and seen it with my own es, then I might be of some help."

Still Roosevelt refused to hear of such a proposal. However, opkins now had an idea that seemed to him eminently sound, nd certainly intensely exciting, and he would not let go of it. e enlisted the aid of Missy LeHand and of Justice Felix Frank-rter who seldom offered any advice to Roosevelt after his evation to the Supreme Court, but who was listened to when he did speak.

Roosevelt remained obdurate and, after days of intensive effort, Hopkins was about ready to give up. We were working at the time on the Message to Congress. It was the one which proclaimed the Four Freedoms. Nobody ghost-wrote those.

Roosevelt had mentioned them somewhat casually at a press conference six months previously when asked a question about his long-term peace objective There were then five freedoms—two of them coming under the heading of "Freedom of Speech" Roosevelt had no name in mind for the Third Freedom, though he was clear about its social import, and Richard L Harkness of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* suggested it be called, "Freedom From Want" After that conference the Freedoms were forgotten until Roosevelt suddenly recalled them to us on New Year's, 1941

On the morning of January 3, Hopkins was in his room when Steve Early telephoned from the West Wing to say, "Congratulations!"

"On what?" said Hopkins.

"Your trip!"

"What trip?" Hopkins suspected some ill-timed joke inspired, no doubt, by Roosevelt himself

"Your trip to England," said Early "The President just announced it at his press conference"

Two days later, Hopkins was off

Roosevelt had told the press that Hopkins would go "as my personal representative for a very short trip—a couple of weeks—just to maintain—I suppose that is the word for it—personal relations between me and the British Government'

The questions followed

Q Does Mr Hopkins have any special mission, Mr President?

The President No, no, no!

Q Any title?

The President No, no!

Q Mr President, is it safe to say Mr Hopkins will not be the next Ambassador?

The President. You know Harry isn't strong enough for that job

Q Will he be on the government pay roll?

The President I suppose they will pay his expenses—probably on a per diem, not very large—either for you or Hopkins!

(Laughter)

Q Will anyone accompany Mr Hopkins?

The President No And he will have no powers

Q. Will he have any mission to perform?

The President. No; you can't get anything exciting. (Laughter) He's just going over to say "How do you do?" to a lot of my friends! (Laughter)

(The boys seemed to have laughed easily in those days.)

Before Hopkins left Washington he was persuaded to have a long talk with Jean Monnet, whom he had never met but with whom he was to become closely associated later on in the problems of production and eventually in the diplomatic mess which followed the Allied landings in North Africa. Monnet was one of the least obtrusive men in Washington during the early years of the war, but one of the most determined and most useful. A French businessman, member of the famous cognac family, he had been in America in 1938 and 1939 stimulating the production of fighting aircraft for France. He was in London as a member of the Allied Economic Coordinating Committee when France fell and he then offered his services to the British Government. He was sent to Washington to work with Arthur Purvis on the British Purchasing Commission. He had the kind of calm, cool, reasoning and self-disciplined mind which is supposed to be typically French but which is all too seldom found in Frenchmen; he was positively puritanical in his refusal to deviate from the straight line which led to his objectives. His advice to Hopkins was to waste no time with the Minister of This or That in the British Cabinet but to concentrate on Churchill, for "Churchill *is* the British War Cabinet, and no one else matters." Hopkins became a bit fed up with hearing about the almighty Churchill and exclaimed, "I suppose Churchill is convinced that he's the greatest man in the world!"

A friend who was present said, "Harry—if you're going to London with that chip on your shoulder, like a damned little small-town chauvinist, you may as well cancel your passage right now." Hopkins, however, maintained his reservations about Churchill as he set off on the Pan-American Clipper to Lisbon. He also maintained the gnawing fear of air travel which had once caused him to refuse an invitation to make an inspection flight over Boulder Dam—saying, in explanation of his refusal, "No, God-damn it, I'm scared!" Several people tried to thumb

a ride with him on the Clipper, including Averell Harriman and the present biographer, but he preferred to travel alone. He carried with him his official letter of authorization:

> Reposing special faith and confidence in you, I am asking you to proceed at your early convenience to Great Britain, there to act as my personal representative I am also asking you to convey a communication in this sense to His Majesty King George VI
>
> You will, of course, communicate to this Government any matters which may come to your attention in the performance of your mission which you may feel will serve the best interests of the United States.
>
> With all best wishes for the success of your mission, I am,
>
> Very sincerely yours,
> /s/ FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Enclosed with this was a letter from the President to King George VI:

> YOUR MAJESTY
>
> I have designated the Honorable Harry L. Hopkins as my personal representative on a special mission to Great Britain. Mr Hopkins is a very good friend of mine in whom I repose the utmost confidence.
>
> I am asking him to convey to you and to Her Majesty the Queen my cordial greetings and my sincere hope that his mission may advance the common ideals of our two nations
>
> Cordially your friend,
> /s/ FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

The Hopkins mission received a largely unfavorable press with many references to the travels of Colonel House twenty-five years before and to Hopkins' record as a free and easy squanderer of the taxpayers money Raymond Clapper, always more friendly than most of his colleagues, assumed that Hopkins was going in his capacity as a veteran welfare worker to make a study of the new democracy that was arising from the ruins in Britain and to make charts of social progress, in this guess, Clapper was uncharacteristically wide of the mark At the other extreme was the Communist *Daily Worker* which likened Hopkins to Colonel House saying in its editorial that House had pledged "American entrance into the first imperialistic war on the side of the Allies while Woodrow Wilson was assuring the American people that he would keep the country

out of the war. . . . The secret diplomacy involved in the Hopkins appointment can put the American people on the alert—in insisting that no further aid be given British imperialism, since such aid brings the shadow of war closer and closer to our homes." The *Daily Worker* urged the American people to shout loudly, "The Yanks are *not* coming."

(Less than seven months later, Hopkins arrived in Moscow to talk to Joseph Stalin and the same *Daily Worker* said, editorially,

> The sending of Mr. Hopkins on this mission, his statements and pledges will meet the approval of the entire American people. . . . The time is long overdue for the people to inform their Representatives and Senators to establish unity to defend the country and to defeat the common enemy of mankind. The fact that concrete steps have been taken in this direction, through Mr. Hopkins' visits to London and Moscow, makes this unity imperative. Any voices raised to prevent these steps from being taken are helping Hitler, or are agents of Hitler and Fifth Columnists in the country.)

Shortly after Hopkins' departure, the suggestion was made that Wendell Willkie also make a trip to London. It was obvious that Roosevelt would heartily approve of this. There was far more news value in Willkie than in Hopkins; and, as the Lend-Lease debate started, this evidence of solidification of bipartisan foreign policy was all important. When Willkie went to the White House on the eve of his departure, Roosevelt was working on his Third Inaugural Address with Rosenman and me. We were in the Cabinet Room when it was announced that Willkie had arrived in General Watson's office. Roosevelt shifted into his wheelchair and was going through Missy LeHand's office into his own to greet the man who had been his opponent in the recent, bitter campaign. He looked into his office and saw that his desk was clean of papers. Then he stopped his wheelchair, and turned to us, and asked us to give him a handful of papers from the litter on the Cabinet table. We asked what particular papers do you want, Mr. President?"

"Oh, it doesn't matter," said Roosevelt, "just give me a handful to strew around on my desk so that I will look busy when Willkie comes in."

Sometime later, when I came to know Wendell Willkie, I told him of that episode, and he was considerably amused. His comment was, "That's typical!" It was during this brief meeting of the two men that Roosevelt took a sheet of his personal stationery and, without apparent premeditation, wrote the famous message to Churchill in Longfellow's words

> Sail on, O Ship of State!
> Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
> Humanity with all its fears,
> With all the hopes of future years,
> Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

Roosevelt never made a more graceful or effective gesture than that, and none of us who were with him in the White House at the time had any idea how he happened to think of it.

When Churchill was informed that Harry Hopkins was coming to visit him his first question was, "*Who?*" He was quickly informed by his Parliamentary Private Secretary, Brendan Bracken, who had met Hopkins at the Swopes house some years before and had watched his career with interest ever since. As the close friend and confidant of the Prime Minister, Bracken occupied a position that corresponded in one or two respects (but not more) to Hopkins' When Churchill heard who his curious guest really was, he ordered the unrolling of any red carpets that might have survived the Blitz.

Hopkins was five days en route, traveling the last leg, Lisbon to Poole on the South Coast of England, in a British Overseas Airways Clipper In those days of the Neutrality Law, the Pan American Clippers, rating as merchant vessels could not go into the ports of belligerent countries Churchill sent Bracken to Poole to meet the airplane, but when the passengers debarked Hopkins was not among them Bracken got aboard and found Hopkins still sitting, looking sick and shrunken and too tired even to unfasten his safety belt He had to rest for a long time before he felt well enough to take the train journey to London But then he began to perk up He looked with great interest at the bomb damage on the South Coast and felt, like every other American who reached England in those bleak days

d on the other side of the moon. As the train moved
gh the countryside, which seemed as tranquil and un-
led as ever, Hopkins said to Bracken, "Are you going to
Hitler take these fields away from you?" That was his first
ing question about British intentions. Bracken answered
h authority, and with unaccustomed brevity, "No."
The Hopkins entry into London on Thursday, January 9, was
scribed years later in a letter to the *Sunday Times* from Si
ustace Missenden, General Manager of the Southern Railway

Mr. Churchill had given instructions that the best was to be do
and arrangements were made for the most modern Pullman cars to
formed in the train. The conductors wore white gloves; a good m
with liquid refreshment, was available, together with papers, peri
cals, etc. Mr. Harry Hopkins was obviously impressed.
It was late afternoon and the engine driver put up a grand perfo...
ance, but when nearing Clapham Junction the siren was heard, and
during that period Clapham Junction was particularly favoured by the
Luftwaffe. However, on we went, and within one minute of the train'
arrival at Waterloo, just after 7 p.m., hundreds of incendiarie
showered down on the line between Clapham Junction and Waterlo
blocking all tracks for several hours. The intense relief on the fa
of the train crews will always be remembered as they watched
waiting car spring into life carrying our distinguished visitor on
way to Downing Street.

He was met at the station by Herschel V. Johnson, Chargé
d'Affaires at the American Embassy. Although Hopkins was in-
vited to dinner at No. 10 Downing Street that first evening, he
felt too tired to face Churchill and had dinner with Johnson in
his room at Claridge's Hotel where he could hear the antiair-
craft batteries blazing away in Hyde Park. Johnson, who was
ranking American diplomat in London during the interval be-
tween Ambassadors Kennedy and Winant—and laterMiniste
to Sweden and Representative on the United Nations Securit
Council—has told me that before Hopkins' arrival he had bee
in a state of deep pessimism as to American ability to apprecia
the serious urgency of Britain's plight. About all that he
ceived officially from home was a series of admonitions to ma

tain strict observance of the Neutrality Law and to do or say nothing that might bring down isolationist criticism on the State Department. Having been through almost six months of intensive Blitz, and having himself narrowly escaped death more than once when bombs landed in and around Grosvenor Square, he had begun to feel a certain sense of frustration and impotence as of one who is a guest in an upstairs room of a burning building and is told to be careful to take no sides as between the fire department and the flames.

"I was immediately heartened," Johnson has said, "by the sincerity and the intensity of Harry Hopkins' determination to gain firsthand knowledge of Britain's needs and of finding a way to fill them Some other Americans who had come to London devoted themselves to investigations to determine if the British really needed the things they were asking for. Harry wanted to find out if they were asking *for enough* to see them through He made it perfectly clear that he did not know how or where he was going to begin, or what his methods would be, but he knew precisely what he was there for He made me feel that the first real assurance of hope had at last come—and he acted on the British like a galvanic needle"

Another American whom Hopkins wanted to see and did see at the beginning of his London visit was Edward R Murrow, of the Columbia Broadcasting System From the outbreak of war, when he had lain in the Mayo Clinic believing that he was soon to die, Hopkins had listened to Murrow's grim voice announcing, "This—is London," in a tone which seemed to suggest the thuds of the German bombs When Murrow was summoned to Claridge's to see Hopkins he thought he was being granted an interview, which proved to be the case except that he, Murrow, was the one interviewed Hopkins plied him with searching questions, most of them concerned with personalities and with public morale rather than with physical conditions All that Hopkins told him of his own mission was, "I suppose you could say that I've come here to try to find a way to be a catalytic agent between two prima donnas,' which was not for quotation Hopkins then believed that the formidab

Roosevelt and Churchill were bound to clash, and, in anticipa
tion of that, he said, "I want to try to get an understanding c
Churchill and of the men he sees after midnight."

Churchill had been informed of Hopkins' devotion to Roos
velt and of his possible suspicion of anyone who might presum
to challenge Roosevelt's position of pre-eminence among worl
statesmen. On the day of Hopkins' arrival, the Prime Minist
made a speech at a luncheon in honor of Lord Halifax, the ne
British Ambassador to the United States, and in the course
his remarks on the long belabored subject of Anglo-America
amity he said,

> I hail it as a most fortunate occurrence that at this awe-strikii
> climax in world affairs there should stand at the head of the Americ
> Republic a famous statesman, long versed and experienced in the wo
> of government and administration, in whose heart there burns the fi
> of resistance to aggression and oppression, and whose sympathies a
> nature make him the sincere and undoubted champion of justice a
> of freedom, and of the victims of wrongdoing wherever they m
> dwell.
>
> And not less—for I may say it now that the party struggle in t
> United States is over—do I rejoice that this pre-eminent figure shou
> newly have received the unprecedented honor of being called for t
> third time to lead the American democracies in days of stress a
> storm.

When Hopkins learned of this speech from Johnson, who h
een present at the luncheon, he began to believe that he a
he British Prime Minister might be able to get along with o
nother.

The next morning, Johnson brought the Military Attacl
General Raymond E. Lee, and the Naval Attaché, Admiral Ro
rt Lee Ghormley, to Claridge's to give Hopkins the Americ
stimate of the war situation—and it was not an optimistic o
—and then Johnson took Hopkins to the Foreign Office for t
nevitable courtesy call. Hopkins was not at first favorably i
ressed with Anthony Eden, though they later became very go
riends. Other Americans on first acquaintance with Eden ha
nade the mistake of writing him off as a charming, ornament
asual young gentleman of Mayfair. Those who jumped to t
onclusion had forgotten that Eden had the strength and coura

to risk political extinction by refusing to go along with Neville Chamberlain on appeasement.

Hopkins wrote his first reports to Roosevelt in longhand on Claridge's stationery and they were dispatched by courier. He said:

[illegible]

tanks over the desert

That was about all that emerged from that brief meeting, after which Johnson took Hopkins to see Lord Halifax, whom he described as,

> A tall stoop shouldered aristocrat greeted me in an old office taken over by the ministers of Churchill's government I did the talking—or most of it—telling him the people that I thot were important for him to see and know in Washington When I got beyond the President and Hull I was in deep water and quit I liked him I think and hope the President will like him He has no side- has been about—I presume is a hopeless Tory—that isn't too important now if we can but get on with our business of licking Hitler I would not like to see him have much to say about a later peace —I should like to have Eden say less I understand he is off to America on Tuesday next aboard a British cruiser.

Hopkins then returned to Claridge's, made an unsuccessful attempt to neaten up, and then drove down through Berkeley Square and Trafalgar Square to Downing Street for the big moment He wrote Roosevelt

> Number 10 Downing St is a bit down at the heels because the Treasury next door has been bombed more than a bit The Prime Minister is no longer permitted to sleep here and I understand sleeps across the street He told me they are building a real shelter for him so that he can sleep in peace near by Everyone tells me that he works fifteen hours a day and I can well believe it His [illegible]
> Bracken—met me at the door—showed me about [illegible]
> ful house that has been home of prime ministe[illegible]
> two hundred years. Most of the windows are ou[illegible]

place repairing the damage—Churchill told me it wouldn't stand a healthy bomb.

Bracken led me to a little dining room in the basement—poured me some Sherry and left me to wait for the Prime Minister. A rotund —smiling—red faced, gentleman appeared—extended a fat but none the less convincing hand and wished me welcome to England. A short black coat—striped trousers—a clear eye and a mushy voice was the impression of England's leader as he showed me with obvious pride the photograph of his beautiful daughter-in-law and grandchild.

The lunch was simple but good—served by a very plain woman who seemed to be an old family servant. Soup—cold beef—(I didn't take enough jelly to suit the P.M. and he gave me some more)—green salad—cheese and coffee—a light wine and port. He took snuff from a little silver box—he liked it.

I told him the President was anxious to see him in April—he expressed regret that Bermuda would not be the place—the climate was nice—he would bring a small staff—go on a cruiser and by accident meet the President at the appointed place—and discuss our problems at leisure. He talked of remaining as long as two weeks and seemed very anxious to meet the President face to face. We discussed the difficulty of communication with the President at long range—there is no question but that he wants to meet the President—the sooner the better.

I told him there was a feeling in some quarters that he, Churchill, did not like America, Americans or Roosevelt. This set him off on a bitter tho fairly constrained attack on Ambassador Kennedy who he believes is responsible for this impression. He denied it vigorously—sent for a Secretary to show me a telegram which he had sent to the President immediately after his election in which he expressed his warm delight at the President's re-election.

I told of my mission—he seemed pleased—and several times assured me that he would make every detail of information and opinion available to me and hoped that I would not leave England until I was fully satisfied of the exact state of England's need and the urgent necessity of the exact material assistance Britain requires to win the war.

He reviewed with obvious pride his own part in the war to date—he didn't *know* that England could withstand the onslaught after France fell—but he felt sure that it could—it did—and it will withstand the next one—he thinks the invasion will not come but if they gain a foothold in England with 100,000 men "we shall drive them out"—beside its excellent coast defenses Britain has twenty five well trained and equipped divisions—trained only in offensive warfare which will drive Germany's army into the sea. Germany cannot invade Britain successfully. He thinks Hitler may use poison gas but if they

England will reply in kind killing man for man—"for we too have ... deadliest gases in the world"—but under no circumstances will ... they be used unless the Germans release gas first. He said he believed Hitler would not strike at Spain now because the population is starving and Hitler does not want sullen people around his armies—he has enough of that already—but the spring might tell a different story —and left me the impression that Spain would be over-run in the spring.

He thinks Greece is lost—altho he is now reinforcing the Greeks—and weakening his African Army—he believes Hitler will permit Mussolini to go only so far down hill—and is now preparing for the attack which must bring its inevitable result. He knows this will be a blow to British prestige and is obviously considering ways and means of preparing the British public for it. He realizes it will have a profound and disappointing effect in America as well. Churchill too, thinks Turkey will stay put and probably be in the war when Germany moves thru Bulgaria. This Churchill thinks will be the route.

This debacle in Greece will be over-come in part by what he considers to be the sure defeat of the Italians in Africa. He feels England can bring great military pressure on Italy—and fully intends to—Britain will control the Mediterranean and the Suez against Germany. He has offered Weygand six divisions—if the former strikes—he is in close touch with Petain on this point—he spoke with no great assurance about it—but it is clear Churchill intends to hold Africa—clean out the Italians and cooperate with Weygand if the opportunity permits. He expressed the hope that we would not go too far in feeding any of the dominated countries. He feels that tough as it is that one of Hitler's great weaknesses is to be in control of territory inhabited by a dejected and despairing people.

Churchill said that while Germany's bombers were at the ratio of 2½ to 1 at the present time—that would be soon reduced to 1½ to 1—and then he felt they could hold their own in the air—indeed ... with our help to mastery in the air and then Germany ... Looks forward with all her armies will be finished. He believes that this war will never see great forces massed against one another ... there was ... better ...

He took me up to the Cabinet Room where the ... are ... ing the ... and showed me on the map where the ... German bombers ... Liverpool and Glasgow—and of the route the ship ... taking from France to Norway to intercept the ship ...

The sentence in the foregoing, "*He believes that at this ... never see great forces massed against one another,*" sho... suggestion of the strategic thinking which l... arguments over the Second Fron...

After that luncheon, Hopkins held two press conferences, one with the British press and one with American correspondents, and managed in both of them to say nothing. But his presence in London was used to a considerable extent in Britain's propaganda barrage to the continent of Europe, via BBC broadcasts and leaflets dropped by the R.A.F. The gigantic Goebbels machine did not ignore it, either, the principal line being that Hopkins had come for the purpose of taking over the rest of the British Empire (following Bermuda, Trinidad, etc.) in return for some more rusty and obsolete American matériel.

The following day was Saturday and, war or no war, many of the high officials of His Majesty's Government went off for the week end. Churchill normally went to Chequers but the security thorities would not let him use this official and well-known when there was a full moon. So he went instead to ley which is near Woodstock, north of Oxford, and one the most beautiful of all the stately homes of England. Built in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the greatest period of English architecture, it had become the property of Ronald Tree, whose mother was the daughter of the original Marshall Field of Chicago. Tree was Parliamentary Secretary to Brendan Bracken, and he was skillful enough as a host to meet the exacting requirements of Winston Churchill. Three of the handsome rooms on the ground floor were set aside as offices for the Prime Minister and equipped with all the devices by which he could keep in touch with every development of the war at every instant day or night. Week ends were anything but restful, because of the incessant concern of Churchill with everything that was going on everywhere (Roosevelt could get away from it all now and then, but Churchill never even wanted to try) and also because of the habits of the Axis powers; indeed, Churchill was week-ending when he received the news of the war's most important events in the years when the enemy was making the news—including the attacks on the Soviet Union and Pearl Harbor.

During Hopkins' two days at Dytchley the only news was of the appearance for the first time of German dive bombers in the Mediterranean; they attacked British naval units and in-

flicted serious losses Hopkins was amazed at the calmness with which Churchill and his staff took this bad news. Having had no direct experience of the realities of warfare he was shocked by the stark immediacy of the information that ships had been sunk and that British sailors had been killed and maimed. But he had to learn that those who make the great decisions in this brutal business can take no time out for mourning or for penitence, and Winston Churchill, no respecter of his own safety, was a good man from whom to learn it As it turned out, the presence of the Stuka bombers in the Mediterranean had a significance which was not apparent at the time, the German records eventually showed that this was the week end selected by Hitler for the capture of Gibraltar

Hopkins was particularly struck by the extreme difference be- [illegible]

the other hand, always seemed to be at his Command Post on the precarious beachhead and the guns were continually blazing in his conversation, wherever he was, there was the battlefront —and he was involved in the battles not only of the current war but of the whole past, from Cannae to Gallipoli While it took a Pearl Harbor or a national election or a particularly tense poker game to keep Roosevelt up as late as midnight, Churchill was getting full steam up along about ten o'clock in the evening. often after his harassed staff had struggled to bed at 2 00 or 3.00 A.M they would be routed out an hour or more later with an entirely new project for which a plan must be drawn up immediately Churchill needed little sleep at night but took a nap after lunch, whereas it was Roosevelt's custom to work hard all day and sleep soundly all night Churchill s consumption of alcohol has been widely advertised it could be described as unique, for it continued at quite regular intervals through most of his waking hours without visible effect on his health or on his mental processes Anyone who suggests that he became befuddled with drink obviously never had to become involved in an argument with him on some factual probl[illegible] at night when everyone else present was drooping wit[illegible] was

eally Olympian in capacity. His principal aides—General Sir Hastings Ismay, Professor F. A. Lindemann, Commander Charles Thompson, Sir Desmond Morton, J. M. Martin and Bracken—made no attempt to keep up with him in consumption of champagne, Scotch whisky and brandy (he detested cocktails and his whiskies were weak by American standards), and they had to summon reserves of energy to be able to keep up with him in work.

Roosevelt engaged in social life no more than was absolutely necessary, and he eliminated it almost entirely when the circum stances of war gave him a good excuse for doing so. Churchil however, loved to have gay and amusing company at the dinn table. He had little opportunity for it, of course, during the Bl in London, when he was largely confined during the hours darkness to the elaborate system of offices and small living q ters in the air-raid shelters under the Cabinet office buildir. Great George Street, a few steps from Downing Street. But on week ends there was usually a peacetime house-party atmosphere surrounding Churchill whenever he wanted some relaxation. In Hopkins' opinion, there was no doubt that the most charming and entertaining of all the people that he met on these week ends was Mrs. Churchill.

On Saturday night, in the beautiful library at Dytchley, h heard Churchill for the first time launch forth into one of t after-dinner war summaries for which, among other things, was famous. Churchill could talk for an hour or more and h any audience spellbound, including those who had heard many times and to whom nothing that he said was new might be misleading to say that these Churchill talks were promptu"—for it is doubtful that he was ever unprepare a speech—but they were always exercises in incredible vi ity. For Hopkins, this was the opening of new horizons. C ill's eloquence came as no surprise, but his remarkable clopedic knowledge of the situation in all of its i involutions convinced Hopkins that here was one who knew his stuff, who could recite fact and figure and cha verse, and in superb English prose.

There is a story which has been often told and s

, to the effect that Churchill, having been advised of
ns' background as a social worker and rabid New Dealer,
pted to woo him by talking at the outset of all that the
n Government was doing for the under-privileged and the
tten man, and of how his dearest dream for the postwar
d was the more abundant life for all . . whereupon Hop-
rudely interrupted him by saying, "The President didn't
d me here to listen to any of that stuff All he wants to know
how do you propose to beat that son of a bitch in Berlin?"
That is a fine story, all right, but in so far as I know it is not
e. Churchill subsequently stated that, within a few minutes
ter their first meeting in Downing Street, he felt sure that he
ad at last established a definite, heart-to-heart contact with the
President" It may be added that the members of Churchill's en-
tourage were mostly men of superior wit—that may have been
an important qualification in their selection for these highly
confidential posts—and they were adroit in developing anec
dotes about their gusty chief Thus there exists a whole librar
of Churchill jokes almost as extensive as that fabricated abo
the legendary figure of Samuel Goldwyn Some of these stori
of course, are true

After his return to London, Hopkins paid his respects
Buckingham Palace, this was only a brief meeting but sul
quently Hopkins had a longer visit with the King and Queen,
s description of which appears later in this chapter On Janu-
y 14, Hopkins cabled Roosevelt

> I saw the King yesterday after spending the week end with Churchill The King is well and confident and sends his warm regards to you Today I am leaving for a tour of naval bases with Churchill Your message to Congress has been well received here I am urging the British Government not to advertise or accentuate any differences that may exist between us pending passage of the Lend Lease Bill What is your best judgment as to when this Bill will pass? I hope no major amendment will be made Please keep us informed as to the Bill's progress The going here is pretty rough but all is well I am seeing everything here from German bombs to some of your cousins A courier is delivering a letter to you from me

The President also received a cable from the Former N
grateful to you for sending

markable an envoy who enjoys so high a measure of your intimacy and confidence."

The letter to which Hopkins referred in his cable was written, like the previously quoted report, in longhand on small Claridge stationery and never passed through any diplomatic channel whatsoever:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:—

These notes are sent by Col. Lee who is returning with Halifax. Will you save them for me until I get back when I shall try to put them into readable form.

The people here are amazing from Churchill down and if courag alone can win—the result will be inevitable. But they need our help desperately and I am sure you will permit nothing to stand in the way. Some of the ministers and underlings are a bit trying but no more than some I have seen.

Churchill is the gov't in every sense of the word—he controls the grand strategy and often the details—labor trusts him—the army, navy, air force are behind him to a man. The politicians and upper crust pretend to like him. I cannot emphasize too strongly that he is the one and only person over here with whom you need to have a full meeting of minds.

Churchill wants to see you—the sooner the better—but I have told him of your problem until the bill is passed. I am convinced this meet ing between you and Churchill is essential—and soon—for the batte ing continues and Hitler does not wait for Congress.

I was with Churchill at 2 A.M. Sunday night when he got word the loss of the *Southampton*—the serious damage to the new aircr carrier [*Illustrious*]—a second cruiser knocked about—but he n falters or displays the least despondence—till four o'clock he paced floor telling me of his offensive and defensive plans.

I cannot believe that it is true that Churchill dislikes either y America—it just doesn't make sense.

Churchill is prepared for a set back in Greece—the African paign will proceed favorably—German bombers in the Mediter make the fleet's operation more difficult—convoys must all go the Cape. An invasion they feel sure can be repelled—Churchil it will not come soon but Beaverbrook and others think it w and soon.

This island needs our help now Mr. President with every can give them.

There is no time to be out of London so I am staying bombs aren't nice and seem to be quite impersonal. I have b a so called bomb proof apartment by Churchill—a tin hat a

have been delivered—the best I can say for the hat is that it looks worse than my own and doesn't fit—the gas mask I can't get on—so I am alright.

There is much to tell but it will have to wait—for I must be off to Charing Cross.

HARRY

The reference to being out of London referred to a suggestion at he stay at a house in the country to avoid the bombing, but at naturally was the last thing he wanted to miss. The train was to take left from King's Cross, not Charing Cross, but ckily he was guided by an Embassy representative so he went the right station.

He traveled with Churchill in his private train to Scotland here Lord Halifax was about to embark on the new battleship, ing George V, for his journey to the United States. The final ge of the trip to Scapa Flow had to be made on a destroyer hich was boarded under utmost difficulties, while pitching dly. Churchill was talking rapidly at the time about the frican campaign He scrambled aboard the destroyer easily, it Hopkins, being no old salt (nor even a young one), missed s footing and was narrowly saved from falling into the sea. e was dragged aboard by the scruff of his neck while Churchill ent right on talking On board the destroyer, off the North oast of Scotland in January, Hopkins was horribly cold, tired id generally miserable He borrowed General Ismay's flying oots to keep his feet warm and sat down to rest on some object i the deck, but was promptly hauled off it by a chief petty ficer who said, apologetically, 'Excuse me, sir—but I don't ink you should sit just there, sir—that, sir, is a depth charge."

When the destroyer came in view of the Home Fleet, riding anchor in Scapa Flow, Churchill or someone else (I do not ow who) waved to the impressive sight and said to Hopkins, There is our shield' If that should go, we'd be for it The Gerans have attempted some bombing here If they should intenfy it, and had some luck with their hits, our shield would be ne and we should be defenseless ' (Eleven months later Hopns thought that it was a lucky thing for civilization that the ermans never developed the carrier-based air power nor the

peculiar tactical skill that the Japanese concentrated on Pearl Harbor.)

Hopkins wished good-by and good luck to Lord Halifax, with whom he was to have close and cordial association during the next four years. When Halifax arrived off Annapolis, Maryland, President Roosevelt did him the signal honor of sailing out to meet him. There was considerable quiet mirth in the White House over that episode. We all knew that of course the President was glad of the opportunity to welcome the new British Ambassador and thereby to advertise again his support for the British cause; but we all suspected that, as a naval enthusiast, he was also impelled by an irrepressible desire to have a good look at the new battleship.

The career of Lord Halifax as Ambassador was a remarkable one. He started out under many handicaps, being branded as one of the men of Munich. He was photographed indulging in favorite sport of fox hunting in Virginia while his country- n were absorbing fearful punishment, thereby evoking a diatribe from Carl Sandburg, among many others. Some months after his arrival in Washington, an acidulous and irreverent representative of the British Government in the United States returned to London and, when asked how Lord Halifax was getting along, replied, "Oh, he's doing famously! His popularity has risen from zero to freezing point." And yet, when five years later Halifax completed his mission and left the United States, he took with him a wealth of respect and affection such as could have been given to very few Ambassadors anywhere at any time. The size and character of the obstacles that he had been forced tc [illegible]

um the entire distance and to be introduced over and over again Churchill was tireless but Hopkins was exhausted and tried several times to duck out and hide behind the spectators. But every time Churchill noted his absence and summoned him forth.

That night Churchill and Hopkins attended a dinner given by the Lord Provost of Glasgow Churchill spoke, making graceful references to President Roosevelt, to Hopkins and to "the Democracy of the great American Republic" (a phrase calculated to please both sides of the political fence). Hopkins also was called upon for a few words He quoted the Book of Ruth—"Whither thou goest, I will go . . . even to the end" Publication of this unprepared speech was censored, but word of it spread all over Britain and it had an effect far greater than Hopkins had dared to intend it was interpreted as assurance that "the Americans are with us" Lord Beaverbrook told me years later that Hopkins' warm-hearted sympathy at this time and his confidence and the conviction that went with it provided more tangible aid for Britain than had all the destroyers and guns and rifles and ammunition that had been sent previously.

It was on this trip, and other trips to Dover, Southampton and Portsmouth, that Hopkins noted the absolute reverence in which Churchill was held by the British people They literally wanted to touch the hem of his garments. He had been a famous man in these islands for thirty years before the war, but they did not entrust him with the job of King's First Minister until they were *in extremis*. And as soon as they were out of it they voted overwhelmingly for his opponents But this was their "finest hour" and Churchill was their acknowledged leader and spokesman and the living symbol of their will to survive as a free people The Prime Minister and the President, as Hopkins saw them, were widely different characters, but they both possessed to a superlative degree the ability to provoke loyalty, enthusiasm, devotion, even a kind of adoration—and also the ability merely to provoke.

Returning to London, Hopkins plunged into a schedule of appointments with British and American officials, and those of various governments in exile One official with whom he estab-

lished a lasting friendship—after an unpropitious start—was Lord Beaverbrook, the press baron and Minister of Aircraft Production. (They first met at luncheon with Herschel Johnson and disliked each other automatically.) Hopkins attended a session of the House of Commons at which Churchill made one of his historic reports on the war situation. In this one he described the composition and functions of his War Cabinet. Coming to Beaverbrook, he said, "The Minister of Aircraft Production, who was described as an 'old sea raider,' which is a euphemistic method of describing a pirate, is a man of altogether exceptional force and genius who is at his very best when things are at their very worst." The relationship of Churchill and Beaverbrook was a matter of considerable interest and often amusement to Hopkins. Here were two determined and inherently powerful men whose very similarities clashed: both were supreme patriots on an imperial scale, both were tireless and tenacious, both extremely worldly, with great zest and capacity for good living, both were superb showmen with an alert ability for spotting and appreciating the main chance; and each of the many disagreements between them seemed utterly irreconcilable until a common contempt for the purely transient issue brought them together again.

Beaverbrook gave a dinner for Hopkins at Claridge's, inviting his colleagues and competitors of the London press. This dinner was off the record but an account of it has been written by one of the editors present:

> We were all tired men, suffering from a succession of long nights during which London had been bombed by explosives and incendiaries, and during which the difficulties of newspaper production had been extreme. But on that midwinter evening in the peak period of the first series of London blitzes we were also intensely curious men—which is the happiest and healthiest state for a journalist in any clime or circumstance. All of us were wondering as our cars advanced cautiously through the blackout toward Claridge's (and they miraculously found it, though its patrician and once-brilliant entrance was as subtly concealed as that of any dubious dive) what Hopkins would have to say to us.
>
> He had said so little since he arrived in London, to the tune of an anti-aircraft bombardment, on January 9. Our reporters, when they

met him on arrival, were obliged to record that he "smiled quizzically" in answer to their questions; and even a full-dress Press Conference at the American Embassy two days later had produced nothing more definite from the President's envoy than that he was here "to discuss matters of mutual interest to our two countries." Though it must be admitted that he rewarded the zeal of one particularly determined questioner by agreeing, "Yes, I think you can say *urgent* matters."

The gathering at Claridge's was one of the biggest of the Beaverbrook war-time occasions. Not only were the editors and some of the leading writers present. Proprietors and managers were there, and the provincial Press, as well as that of London, was represented.

When the waiters had cleared the tables the doors were closed, and Beaverbrook stood up, smiling. He addressed himself not to us, but to Harry Hopkins. For days, he said, Hopkins had been talking to members of the Government. But tonight was a yet more important occasion, for those present were "the masters of the Government"—the leaders of the British Press. And so he invited Mr. Hopkins to speak to us.

Hopkins rose, looking lean, shy and untidy, grasping the back of his chair, and he continued to look shy throughout his speech.

His words were private, so no notes were taken. But if it had been possible to record the sentences that came quietly and diffidently from the lips of Harry Hopkins they would have compared well for nobility of expression with the splendid oration which Mr. Roosevelt had delivered two days earlier when he was sworn in for the third time as President of the United States.

Not that Hopkins repeated or even echoed the President's speech. He talked in more intimate terms. Where the President had spoken of America's duty to the world, Hopkins told us how the President and those around him were convinced that America's [illegible] could be successfully performed only in partnership with Britain. He told us of the anxiety and admiration with which every phase of Britain's lonely struggle was watched from the White House, and of his own emotions as he travelled through our blitzed land. His speech left us with the feeling that although America was not yet in the war she was marching beside us, and that we [illegible] not fail. Above all he convinced us that [illegible] about him blazed with faith in the future [illegible]

In addition to addressing us as a whole [illegible] Beaverbrook, went on a slow journey [illegible] chair alongside the editors and managers [illegible] talking to them individually. He [illegible] Centre, by his grasp of our newspaper [illegible]

We went away [illegible]—Hopkins [illegible]

the Ministry of Aircraft Production to read the night's reports and repare orders for his factory managers on the morrow; the rest of, s to our offices, to find that production had gone forward well in the evening blessedly free from the crash of bombs or the smell of burning buildings.

Many a tragic and terrible chapter was to be added to our country's history before our prayers were answered and our efforts rewarded. None of us British journalists who had been listening to the man fro the White House was in any illusion about the peril which enco passed our island. But we were happy men all; our confidence and courage had been stimulated by a contact for which Shakespeare, in "Henry V," had a phrase: "A little touch of Harry in the night."

A footnote to this is provided in a letter from J. Edgar Hoover to General Watson for the President's information. It seemed ere were F.B.I. men in Claridge's that evening. Hoover wrote:

At the conclusion of the dinner it appeared from facial expressions that all the guests were quite happy as the result of the dinner and discussions. Small groups of them stopped in the coffee room, where representatives of this Bureau were seated at the moment, and the gist of the conversations related to the very charming manner of Mr. Hopkins, his keen insight into current problems and the very remarkable fact that he combined a very charming but almost shy personality with a very vigorous and dynamic mentality. In no instance was any unfavorable comment made and the entire gist of their conversations relative to Mr. Hopkins was positive and commendatory.

It delighted Roosevelt to know that the G-men were checking up on his personal representative.

Although Hopkins had paid his respects at Buckingham Palace shortly after his arrival he did not have an opportunity for a real talk with the King and Queen until two weeks later. His description of this meeting follows:

January 30, 1941

I had lunch today with Their Majesties The King and Queen Buckingham Palace today. Sir Alan Lascelles and the Equerry Waiting greeted me at the door and took me through the long, c narrow, windowless passages to the King's office, where appare he meets all his visitors.

First the King and then the Queen came in. We chatted a mo about inconsequential things and the King then asked me abo

trip to Scapa Flow with Halifax, and I told him details of the amusing incidents including the firing of the U.P. gun, and about the bomb landing five feet from me instead of on the enemy. He told me that the Prime Minister had failed to tell him of this incident. I told the King the reason for that was that the Prime Minister didn't think it was funny and I did!

The three of us had lunch together in the next room. We discussed at great length their visit to America a year ago last May, and it was perfectly clear that the President made a great impression on both of them.

I told the King how much the President enjoyed meeting them, how dear his friendship was to him personally, and how great his pleasure was in receiving personal messages from the King. I urged the King, whenever he was of a mind, to send the President appropriate personal notes because I believed that that was one of the ways to keep our two countries closely related during these trying times.

The Queen told me that she found it extremely difficult to find words to express her feeling towards the people of Britain in these days. She thought their actions were magnificent and that victory in the long run was sure, but that the one thing that counted was the morale and determination of the great mass of the British people.

The King discussed the navy and the fleet at some length and showed an intimate knowledge of all the high ranking officers of the navy, and for that matter, of the army and air force. It was perfectly clear from his remarks that he reads very carefully all the important dispatches and, among other things, was quite familiar with a dispatch which I had sent Sunday night through the Foreign Office.

He thinks very highly of the Commander-in-Chief of the military forces and, as with everybody else, has great confidence in Churchill. He discussed quite freely with me the great difficulties this country would have if anything should happen to Churchill.

If ever two people realized that Britain is fighting for its life it is these two. They realize fully that this conflict is different from the other conflicts in Britain's history and that if Hitler wins they and the British people will be enslaved for years to come.

The Queen told an amusing story about going to Church with Mrs Roosevelt senior and the President. It appears that the old lady dropped her Prayer Book over and over again and the Queen had to pick it up. This was no sooner done than she would drop her handkerchief. Eventually the Prayer Book went over the bench and there was nothing further that could be done. The Queen had been amused at the fact that the Rector of the Church had urged the parishioners to come to Church even when such distinguished visitors were not present.

The King talked at great length about the President and his obvious deep interest in the defeat of Hitler.

The air raid alarm had gone off just as we sat down to lunch, and as we reached coffee and port the bell rang in the Palace and the King said, "That means we have got to go to the air raid shelter," so we immediately walked down two or three flights of stairs, through a dark hallway, led by a guard, through several doors and finally landed in a small lighted room with a table and chairs.

We talked in the shelter for an hour longer about Washington and America's relationship to the war. The Queen urged the King to take the time to write to the President as frequently as he could, and said on her part she was going to continue to write to Mrs. Roosevelt.

He asked about Mr. Willkie and his visit, and seemed greatly pleased that I was sure Mr. Willkie and the President would see eye to eye in regard to the President's foreign policy.

He told me the story of Queen Wilhelmina's escape from Holland. It seems she had, after some urging, asked for fighter planes, which could not be sent, but the British Government instead sent a destroyer. She was refusing to leave Holland and took the destroyer in order to get to Flushing. The commander of the destroyer could not get into Flushing and told the Queen there was nothing to do but go to a British port, which she did. She got to Buckingham Palace at 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon wearing a tin hat given her by the commander of the destroyer. The Queen said she was a fine courageous woman, and it was perfectly clear from this conversation that she arrived in England entirely by accident and not by intent on her own part.

I told the King the story about the Belgian King, and of Queen Wilhelmina's desire that the President send a message to him. He expressed a good deal of sympathy with the King of the Belgians. It was perfectly clear that he felt that the King had had two responsibilities—one as Commander-in-Chief of the Belgian Army and the other his job as King, and that he had got the two jobs mixed up. He apparently had little or no criticism of him as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, but as King he thought he should have left the country and established his government elsewhere.

The Queen said she felt Hitler and the Germany people were a pretty cruel lot and realized they would have no mercy on them; that she liked the fact that the British people did not seem to have much hatred in their hearts but rather determination to resist to the end. She seemed to have a wide acquaintance with British politics and affairs and showed great interest in all I had to tell her about my trips throughout the country, particularly my visit to Glasgow. . . .

The King expressed the great hope that somehow the President and

Churchill could get together personally in the near future. He believed that it might be arranged.

When I emphasized the President's great determination to defeat Hitler, his deep conviction that Britain and America had a mutuality of interest in this respect, and that they could depend upon aid from America, they were both very deeply moved

The Queen asked particularly about Diana and told me to be sure to give her her love. She too wished to be remembered warmly to Mr and Mrs Roosevelt. The King on his part told me how greatly he appreciated the President's speeches and said he was sure from the last visit that he knew what was deeply embedded in the President's mind. He told me to tell the President how much beloved he was by the people of Britain and asked that I give to the President his warmest expressions of thanks and appreciation and a personal word of friendship.

I have made some deliberate deletions in the foregoing document relating largely to the British political scene. None of the material deleted was concerned with President Roosevelt or US Government policy or problems. The same applies to the following document in which I have made one deletion of a passage concerned solely with Norwegian matters

January 30 1941

I saw the King of Norway this morning at his house, the Norwegian Embassy, 10 Palace Green, Kensington, W 8. Dr Beneš, the former President of Czechoslovakia, was just coming out. I just had a chance to shake hands with him

The King told me something of his flight from Norway and mentioned the fact that it was impossible for women and children to follow him, and that is why he ordered the Crown Princess and her two children to leave and go into Sweden. The same thing applied to Mrs Harriman, who he was sure could not stand the arduousness of the retreat and he asked that she too leave for Sweden. He seemed to have a very warm feeling in his heart for Mrs Harriman

The King was a tall man and spoke very vigorously and in perfect English. He deprecated his own part in the whole affair and said that Norway could not have resisted unless the Norwegian people had wished to resist and without their support he could never be carrying on a government here. He said he tried to impress on the 30,000 sailors of the merchant marine that they were not working for their employers but really working for the rehabilitation of Norway

He expressed great appreciation of the kindness of British

Government and his very high regard for the spirit of the British people.

He asked me to give the President his warmest thanks not only for his kindness to his family, but for the warm sympathy which America had for Norway.

When Roosevelt had first announced the Hopkins mission at a press conference he said that the trip would last no more than two weeks. It lasted nearly six weeks. Hopkins wanted to stay on and the President cabled him permission to do so, adding, "Do get some sleep!" Roosevelt told Hopkins to inform the Former Naval Person that he hoped for action on the Lend-Lease Bill some time between February 20 and March 1 but that he had made arrangements to enable nearly all the British orders to go through in the meantime. He said that the general situation in the United States was very encouraging, and wished Hopkins the best of luck. January 30 was Roosevelt's fifty-ninth birthday and Hopkins cabled that he wished he could be with him for the annual dinner of the Cuff Links Gang but that, even though absent, he could be counted on at the proper moment to raise his glass and drink to the long life and good health of the President of the United States.

Hopkins spent three week ends with Churchill at Chequers and one with Beaverbrook at his place, Cherkley, near Leather-head. Churchill invited Hopkins for this one, too, but Willkie was also to be there and Hopkins felt (probably correctly) tha Willkie would prefer not to have him present when he was en gaging in intimate talks with Churchill. There is record of onl one meeting of Hopkins and Willkie in London, reported in cable to the President:

> Last night I saw Wendell Willkie. He told me that he believes t opposition to Lend Lease is going to be vehemently expressed anc should not be underrated under any circumstances. It is his belief t the main campaign against the Bill will be directed from Chicago heavily financed. As perhaps he told you it is his opinion that Her Hoover is the real brains behind this opposition. Willkie said he hc that you would make a radio speech, preferably from Chicago, thereby take your case right to the people. He said that he hi might make some speeches after he returns home in about two w

vels; he had little opportunity to move al
ive been his natural inclination to do, a
iemselves. (Willkie was notably success
ceived a great deal of publicity which wa
ritain than to himself.) On at least o
ianaged to get out and walk the streets a
iid and, when a German bomb was fallin
ushed flat on his face in the gutter by
anion.

However, if he did not get to meet the p
ad a very large number of letters which
im of the type of mail that flowed into V
'here were letters asking him whether l
Iopkinses of Somersetshire; letters desc
hat would win the war between dawn a
laining that the Royal Society for the P
o Animals was not doing enough to prot
air raids; letters enclosing stamps for
lection and appeals to Mrs. Roosevel
clothes for the children; there wer
'an average English home" and to addr
roup on the subject of social progress;
vhich declared definitely that England w
zed by the bloodstained *American doll*
iinety-three-year-old widow of an Americ
vho complained that her pension checks
hrough U-boat action and would Mr. Ho
natter up on his return to Washington? I
risk message, inviting him for a week
orming him that he had been making
election of people that he had seen and
ould provide much better company than
ar. (He had to decline this invitation.)

On Saturday, February 8, Hopkins we
good-by to the Churchill family. They h
lay that the House of Representatives
Lease Bill by a vote of 260 to 165. Th
vorking on a speech which he was to b

n engaged in offensive operations—they had done so
poleonic wars and again in Finland But when they
d upon to defend their homeland they were superb
and there were certainly a great many of them. But,
t emphasized, it was supremely difficult for any out-
Moscow to get a clear picture of what was really going
nd other diplomats in Moscow had been continually
l in their attempted dealings with the Soviet authori-
use of the prevailing attitude of suspicion toward all
rs and consequent secretiveness Hopkins said he was
ed somehow or other to break through this wall of
a.

d a long rest that night and the next day drove abou
with Steinhardt on a sight-seeing tour At 6·30 P.M
dt took him to the Kremlin to meet Stalin Hopkins
o the President of that meeting follows, in full

ld Mr. Stalin that I came as personal representative of the Presi
The President considered Hitler the enemy of mankind and tha
refore wished to aid the Soviet Union in its fight against Ger

ld him that my mission was not a diplomatic one in the sens
I did not propose any formal understanding of any kind o

levels; he had little opportunity to move about freely, as it would have been his natural inclination to do, and talk to the people themselves. (Willkie was notably successful in doing that and received a great deal of publicity which was far more valuable to Britain than to himself.) On at least one occasion Hopkins managed to get out and walk the streets at night during an air raid and, when a German bomb was falling near at hand, he was pushed flat on his face in the gutter by an experienced companion.

However, if he did not get to meet the people face to face, he had a very large number of letters which must have reminded him of the type of mail that flowed into W.P.A. Headquarters. There were letters asking him whether he was related to the Hopkinses of Somersetshire; letters describing new weapons that would win the war between dawn and dusk; letters complaining that the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was not doing enough to protect dogs and cats dur-g air raids; letters enclosing stamps for President Roosevelt's ollection and appeals to Mrs. Roosevelt to send over some warm clothes for the children; there were invitations to visit "an average English home" and to address this or that local group on the subject of social progress; there was one letter which declared definitely that England would never be victimized by the bloodstained American dollar, and one from the ninety-three-year-old widow of an American Civil War veteran who complained that her pension checks were being lost at sea through U-boat action and would Mr. Hopkins please look the matter up on his return to Washington? Lady Astor sent him a brisk message, inviting him for a week end at Cliveden, informing him that he had been making great mistakes in the selection of people that he had seen and assuring him that she could provide much better company than he had picked up thus far. (He had to decline this invitation.)

On Saturday, February 8, Hopkins went to Chequers to say good-by to the Churchill family. They had received word that day that the House of Representatives had passed the Lend-Lease Bill by a vote of 260 to 165. The Prime Minister was working on a speech which he was to broadcast the following

levels; he had little opportunity to move about freely, as it w have been his natural inclination to do, and talk to the pe themselves. (Willkie was notably successful in doing that received a great deal of publicity which was far more valuab. Britain than to himself.) On at least one occasion Hop managed to get out and walk the streets at night during an raid and, when a German bomb was falling near at hand, he pushed flat on his face in the gutter by an experienced c panion.

However, if he did not get to meet the people face to face had a very large number of letters which must have remin him of the type of mail that flowed into W.P.A. Headquart There were letters asking him whether he was related to Hopkinses of Somersetshire; letters describing new we that would win the war between dawn and dusk; letters plaining that the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cr o Animals was not doing enough to protect dogs and cats ng air raids; letters enclosing stamps for President Roose collection and appeals to Mrs. Roosevelt to send over warm clothes for the children; there were invitations t "an average English home" and to address this or th group on the subject of social progress; there was o which declared definitely that England would never I ized by the bloodstained American dollar, and one ninety-three-year-old widow of an American Civil W who complained that her pension checks were bein through U-boat action and would Mr. Hopkins ple matter up on his return to Washington? Lady Astc brisk message, inviting him for a week end at forming him that he had been making great r selection of people that he had seen and assuri could provide much better company than he h far. (He had to decline this invitation.)

On Saturday, February 8, Hopkins went t good-by to the Churchill family. They had r day that the House of Representatives had Lease Bill by a vote of 260 to 165. The Pr working on a speech which he was to broadc

Because of the length of this dinner, Hopkins had only two hours to sleep before being taken to the airport. The plane, flown by Russians, was an American Douglas Transport with very comfortable appointments.

On the take-off, Hopkins was given his first taste of the "special salutes" which the Russians give to distinguished visitors: the plane buzzes the field, dips first one wing then the other, and then, as he wrote, "seems to spring vertically upward, then bounce." This is a mark of signal honor but it tends to scare the hell out of the recipient.

The flight to Moscow took four hours and during it Hopkins began to be reassured as to the future of the Soviet Union. He looked down upon the hundreds of miles of solid forests and he thought that Hitler with all the Panzer divisions in the Wehrmacht could never hope to break through country like this.

engaged in offensive operations—they had done so
oleonic wars and again in Finland. But when they
' upon to defend their homeland they were superb
and there were certainly a great many of them. But,
emphasized, it was supremely difficult for any out-
oscow to get a clear picture of what was really going
d other diplomats in Moscow had been continually
in their attempted dealings with the Soviet authori-
. of the prevailing attitude of suspicion toward all
and consequent secretiveness Hopkins said he was
' somehow or other to break through this wall of

a long rest that night and the next day drove about
ith Steinhardt on a sight-seeing tour At 6:30 P.M.,
took him to the Kremlin to meet Stalin Hopkins'
he *President of that meeting follows, in full*

Mr Stalin that I came as personal representative of the Presi
President considered Hitler the enemy of mankind and that
re wished to aid the Soviet Union in its fight against Ger

im that my mission was not a diplomatic one in the sense
d not propose any formal understanding of any kind or

ssed to him the President's belief that the most important
done in the world today was to defeat Hitler and Hitler
. ' upon him the determination of the President and our
to extend all possible aid to the Soviet Union at the
ossible time

Mr. Stalin that I had certain personal messages from the
and explained my *relationship to the Administration in*
ton. I told him further that I just left Mr Churchill in
ho wished me to convey to him the sentiments which I had
. . .d from the President

alin said he welcomed me to the Soviet Union, that he had
... informed of my visit

' ing Hitler and Germany, Mr Stalin spoke of the necessity
being a minimum moral standard between all nations and

levels; he had little opportunity to move about freely, as it would have been his natural inclination to do, and talk to the people themselves. (Willkie was notably successful in doing that and received a great deal of publicity which was far more valuable to Britain than to himself.) On at least one occasion Hopkins managed to get out and walk the streets at night during an air raid and, when a German bomb was falling near at hand, he was pushed flat on his face in the gutter by an experienced companion.

However, if he did not get to meet the people face to face, he had a very large number of letters which must have reminded him of the type of mail that flowed into W.P.A. Headquarters. There were letters asking him whether he was related to the Hopkinses of Somersetshire; letters describing new weapons that would win the war between dawn and dusk; letters complaining that the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was not doing enough to protect dogs and cats during air raids; letters enclosing stamps for President Roosevelt's collection and appeals to Mrs. Roosevelt to send over some warm clothes for the children; there were invitations to visit "an average English home" and to address this or that local group on the subject of social progress; there was one letter which declared definitely that England would never be victimized by the bloodstained American dollar, and one from the ninety-three-year-old widow of an American Civil War veteran who complained that her pension checks were being lost at sea through U-boat action and would Mr. Hopkins please look the matter up on his return to Washington? Lady Astor sent him a brisk message, inviting him for a week end at Cliveden, informing him that he had been making great mistakes in the selection of people that he had seen and assuring him that she could provide much better company than he had picked up thus far. (He had to decline this invitation.)

On Saturday, February 8, Hopkins went to Chequers to say good-by to the Churchill family. They had received word that day that the House of Representatives had passed the Lend-Lease Bill by a vote of 260 to 165. The Prime Minister was working on a speech which he was to broadcast the following

evening to the entire world, but with American public opinion the principal target. This was to be Churchill's contribution to the Lend-Lease debate in the Senate and he consulted Hopkins on many of its points There was by now an intimacy between the two men which developed to such a degree that it is no exaggeration to say that Churchill reposed the same confidence in Hopkins that Roosevelt did. In the lengthy discussions of this important speech Hopkins was fascinated to observe Churchill's methods of speech preparation, which were very different from Roosevelt's Trained to think on his feet by his [illegible]

[illegible]

that he had been making in preceding days or weeks, but most of the time carrying the material in his head. To Hopkins it was an astonishing performance.

When Hopkins left Chequers late Saturday night he took a special train to Bournemouth He was accompanied again by Brendan Bracken and Commander Thompson, representing the Prime Minister, and by a British security officer, Lieutenant Anthony McComas, who traveled all the way to Washington with him to carry and safeguard his by now voluminous papers Hopkins by now had learned enough about security to take no chances of leaving vital documents lying around a room in the Hotel Aziz in spy-infested Lisbon For he was going back by no means empty handed, the British had turned over to him some of their most important technical secrets which were now made available to the U.S Armed Forces

In a cable to Roosevelt Churchill said that Hopkins had been "a great comfort and encouragement to everyone he has met One can easily see why he is so close to you "

Arriving in Bournemouth Sunday morning Hopkins found that weather conditions prevented a flight to Lisbon that day. He made use of the extra time by visiting two government officials who lived in the neighborhood Colonel J. J Lewellin, who was Beaverbrook's Parliamentary Secretary and later his [illegible]

borne, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. The Cranbornes told Hopkins that their son, a lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards, was stationed nearby (waiting for the German invasion); so, early the next morning, before his airplane took off, Hopkins went to visit him and was called upon to make an after-breakfast speech to the Guardsmen.

Sunday evening, in the lounge of the Branksome Tower Hotel, Hopkins, Bracken and the rest listened to the broadcast of Churchill's famous "give us the tools and we'll finish the job" speech which Hopkins had seen in preparation the day before. In that speech Churchill said, "It seems now to be certain that the Government and people of the United States intend to supply us with all that is necessary for victory. In the last war the United States sent two million men across the Atlantic. *But this is not a war of vast armies, firing immense masses of shells at one another.* We do not need the gallant armies which are forming throughout the American Union. We do not need them this year, nor next year; nor any year that I can foresee."

Some suspicious persons considered that statement the ultimate in insincerity. But the sentence which I have italicized represented another expression of Churchill's profound conviction and he stuck to it in the years that followed Pearl Harbor and in the protracted and sometimes bitter arguments over General Marshall's plan to end the war in Europe by a frontal attack against the German armies in the West. It was most certainly no fault of Churchill's that two American Expeditionary Forces went into France, north and south, in the summer of 1944.

Hopkins traveled back by way of the new Clipper route—from Lisbon to Bolama in Portuguese Guinea on the West Coast of Africa and thence to Brazil and north over the Caribbean. This was the first air route linking the four continents; its establishment was the first pioneering move toward exploitation of one of the most vital strategic lines of communication in the Second World War—the route across the South Atlantic at its narrowest, across Africa to the Persian Gulf and thence to the Soviet Union or to India and the Far East, with spur lines via North Africa to the United Kingdom or to points in the

Mediterranean basin. This was the network of air lanes that Roosevelt was determined to control before Hitler could, for they were all two-way streets.

When he arrived in New York, Hopkins had a talk with John G. Winant who was about to fly to take up his post in London. Winant did not need to be told that he faced one of the most difficult jobs ever undertaken, involving dangers far worse than those presented incidentally by the German bombs. He approached that job with the eager enthusiasm and the altruism and the quiet courage which distinguished him to the tragic end of his life.

Back in the White House, Hopkins brought forth among his souvenirs a bottle of pills Churchill had given him with the assurance that he himself took them frequently and found them very bracing. Roosevelt asked what was in them and, when Hopkins said he hadn't the faintest idea, ordered that some of them be given to Dr. McIntire for analysis. The analysis was duly sent to Hopkins from the Naval Medical Center and he noted, "I am told by the Navy that the whole prescription is a conglomeration of everything that couldn't do anybody much harm. It couldn't possibly do them very much good, either."

Hopkins told Roosevelt that just about the most difficult problem he had to face in England was explaining our constitutional provision that only Congress can declare war. Churchill understood this—perhaps he had learned it at his mother's knee—but there were others of eminent rank in the British Government who couldn't seem to get it through their heads. "But surely," they would say, "your President understands the situation. He is the leader of Congress. Surely, they will loyally follow him if he says that the time has come for the United States to enter the war."

Despite all the explanations given by Hopkins—and, after him, by Winant, Harriman and other Americans—there persisted the belief in London that Roosevelt would have the United States in the war by May 1, 1941. This strange mis-

been due to the eternal conviction that history repeats its
there was the vivid memory of the Democratic party's c
paign slogan of 1916, "He kept us out of war," and of Wooc
Wilson's contradictory action the following April.
Had those who nourished their morale with this w
thinking been familiar with Roosevelt's real character
would have known that the last thing he wanted to do
peat any of the history of the First World War or of the
peace that followed it.

CHAPTER XII

The Common-Law Alliance

ALTHOUGH debate over the Lend-Lease Bill created consid
able uproar for two months—and although so distinguishe
citizen as President Robert M. Hutchins of the Universit
Chicago predicted that with its passage "the American pe
are about to commit suicide"—there was little serious argu
over the essential principle of giving aid to Britain, Gree
China. The big sticking point was over the provision tha
Lease could be extended to "any country whose defer
President deems vital to the defense of the United State
put the decision entirely in the President's hands; it mea
if he so decided (as he eventually did), aid could be
to the Soviet Union. That was what the isolationis
most; even those who grudgingly conceded that perh
ain might be deserving of some charity were horrif
thought that American taxpayers might be called u
for supplies for the Red Army. There was a deterr
on this provision, and some of Roosevelt's more ti
urged him to compromise on terms that would
Soviet Union; but he was firm on this point, for it
possible if not probable that Russia would be atta
many or Japan or both and would be desperate

…The Administration … most vigorous and … American help The Administration was the most vigorous and … whom James F. Byrnes was the most vigorous of the President's lines, and est strategist, waged the battle on the President's lines, and the upper house Saturday night, March 8, the Bill finally passed the upper house by a vote of 60 to 31 This was a historic victory for Roosevelt. Churchill called it "The Third Climacteric" of the Second World War (The first two were the fall of France and the Battle of Britain, the fourth was the attack on Russia and the fifth Pearl Harbor) When word of the vote was sent from the Capitol to the White House, Hopkins immediately picked up the telephone and put through a call to Chequers. Because of the time difference, it was past even Churchill's bedtime. Hopkins spoke to one of the secretaries who said the Prime Minister was asleep and should he be awakened? Hopkins said never mind—to give him the report of the Senate vote in the morning. When he got it, Churchill immediately cabled Hopkins: "The strain has been serious so I thank God for your news." A few days later, Hopkins wrote Churchill

I seem to have had no opportunity to write letters since I returned because of a multitude of things that have interfered This note is ju… to tell you how greatly I appreciate the many courtesies which y… and Mrs Churchill showed me while in England I shall ever … grateful to you for your many kindnesses to me

I am going off with the President on a short trip in the So… I hope by the time we get back the appropriation bill will have … signed In the meantime, I have worked out a scheme with Purvi… might which will keep your orders moving I have agreed to tak… in behalf of the President, a responsibility here for the promot… the whole of our aid to Britain program and I am trying to getting my mind cluttered up with any other problems I am … country is behind the President and I have great hopes of our … to be of very genuine help to you

It looks very much as though we are going to get four mil… of brand new shipping out of the Maritime Commission an… high hopes on other fronts which are a bit premature to div… The President is in good spirits and ever so determined

I have seen Lord Halifax several times and I am in daily … your Purchasing Commission Under my new responsi… …chasing requests are now routed through me … and Knox and Hull are a tower … …merable friends her…

my thoughts constantly with you in the desperate strug
am sure is going to result, in the last analysis, in your victory.
emember me ever so cordially to Mrs. Churchill and Mary. I
o send you some victrola records in a few days and am on the
f a Stilton cheese.

day after Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease Bill, I had
r with him and Hopkins and Missy LeHand off a card
in the Oval Study. As usual, the talk was wildly irrelevant.
r dinner, Hopkins went to his room to work and Toi
nelder came in to take dictation for the speech the Presider
s to give at the dinner of the White House Corresponden
sociation the following Saturday. He had his speech fold
his lap and he started going through it, searching for cl
ings that he had saved for this opportunity. He had been enor-
nously cheerful at dinner, but now he seemed to have changed
to one of his combative moods. He said to me, "I'm going to
get really tough in this one. There have been so many lies going
around about this Aid-for-the-Democracies bill" (that's wha
he called it then) "and so many deliberate attempts to scare th
people that they have got the main issue all confused. I couldn
answer all these lies while the Bill was still being debated. But
now I'm really going to hand it to them."

He then started to dictate, referring constantly to the clip-
pings, dragging out one after another of the vicious charges
that had been flung about so recklessly in the Congress and in
the Press during the past months. It was one of the most scath-
ing, most vindictive speeches I have ever heard. He never men-
tioned a newspaper or an individual by name—it was always
"a certain columnist" or "a certain Senator" or "certain Repub-
lican orators." After an hour or so, he grew weary of it and I
said good night and went to talk to Hopkins, to tell him the
nature of the dictated material and to confess that it made m
feel very depressed. I thought it was a terrible mistake for th
President to take that petulant tone. Now, it seemed to me,
the hour of his great triumph, it would be in character for h
to be magnanimous, and reassert his faith in the wisdom a
the courage of the people who had accepted the revolution
doctrine of Lend Lease. Hopkins listened to me and then

unusual amount of emotion in his voice. He was stirring because he himself seemed deeply stirred. There was no evidence of petty vindictiveness now. He started by praising the co-operation given him throughout his years in office by his hosts, the press correspondents. He spoke of the mistakes of the past and said, "That is water over the dam. Do not let us waste time reviewing the past, or fixing or dodging the blame for it. We, the American people, are writing new history today." He gave the British people the specific assurance for which they had been waiting, saying, "The British people and their Grecian allies need ships. From America, they will get ships. They need planes. From America they will get planes. They need food. From America they will get food. They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. From America they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds." (In the case of Greece, however, the Nazis got there before any of the American supplies did.)

Roosevelt designated Hopkins to "advise and assist" him on Lend Lease but never formally gave him the title of Administrator. However, Hopkins performed that function. This was the first official government post he had held since his resignation as Secretary of Commerce seven months previously. During that time he had actually been a private citizen with no title and no pay, except the per diem allowance on his trip to England. When Roosevelt announced that Hopkins was back on the public payroll he said that his role would be merely that of a "bookkeeper," recording the various transactions and watching the balances but exerting no authority over the allotment of funds. Roosevelt had said much the same thing about the nature of Hopkins' job when W.P.A. was started, and the analogy was even less accurate now than it had been then. The Lend-Lease appointment brought Hopkins out of the shadows in which he had dwelt as a mysterious confidant and made him, in one huge area of authority, the *de facto* Deputy President. The nine billion dollars expended on relief appeared trivial by comparison with the budget for the new and revolutionary program. Congress first appropriated seven billions for Lend Lease, and by the time Japan surrendered the appropriations had

 ... that Secretary ...

nperament. It was at this time that Secre... in his diary his thought that it is "a Godsend that pkins is at the White House."

ns' position became more violently controversial than his activities cut across many lines of authority in gton. Lend Lease involved not only war weapons but nt shipping, vehicles, food, fuel, industrial equipment, erable services and, most importantly, much of the day-business of diplomacy. This was when Hopkins became fied as "Roosevelt's own personal Foreign Office." It was us that Lend Lease should become the most vital element e relations between the United States and all the Allied batant nations and many neutrals as well, with the resul more and more foreign missions in Washington were con-cting, or attempting to conduct, their most important busi-ss directly with Hopkins, thus by-passing the State Depart-ent. This was a development which, quite understandably, did ot set well with Cordell Hull. The predicament was best dem-onstrated by the appointment of W. Averell Harriman, as "Expediter" of Lend Lease, with the rank of Minister, in Lon-don.

The Harriman Mission was housed in the Embassy in Gros-venor Square, but it was largely independent of Embassy au-thority and Harriman was able to report directly to Hopkins through Naval communications rather than through the usual State Department channels. Although Winant and Harriman were good friends, neither of whom had become infected wit the bureaucrat's occupational disease of jurisdictional jealous the situation between them became uncomfortably embarra ing. For, although Winant had the superior rank and ... dignity and prestige—as well as the enormous affection of the British people—it was Harriman who had the principal, per-sonal contacts with No. 10 Downing Street on the one hand and the White House on the other. Churchill left relations with Ambassadors largely to the Foreign Office but Lend Lease wa a matter of wartime life or death and came directly into hi department as Minister of Defense. Furthermore, it was evide

that Harriman was Hopkins' man and thus provided an easy, direct and secure pipeline of communication.

There was started at this time correspondence without precedent an informal, off-the-record but none the less official correspondence between the heads of [illegible] through a third party, Hopkins, in whose [illegible] each had complete confidence. Time [illegible] Minister wanted to sound out the [illegible] new move, he would address a [illegible] in effect, "If you think well of [illegible] great friend for his opinion on the [illegible] ... etc." Hopkins, having consulted Roosevelt [illegible] not "think well of it" and would [illegible] an opportune moment to [illegible] approved, Hopkins would reply [illegible] go ahead with your proposal [illegible]

Since almost every message [illegible] touched in some way on [illegible] ity authorities required [illegible] nels, the State Department [illegible] This applied to many of [illegible] as well as Harriman's, and the Ambassador [illegible] more with Hopkins through [illegible] British channels Here [illegible] passed, and it provided [illegible] Hull's [illegible] receive occasional [illegible] of cables "for your [illegible] the fundamental [illegible] ment found itself [illegible]

The Webster's [illegible] riage" is

> An agreement [illegible]
> riage relation [illegible]
> being provable [illegible]
> In many [illegible]

That [illegible] which existed [illegible]

following the passage of Lend Lease. It was certainly "not recognized" in such "jurisdictions" as the Congress, and if the isolationists had known the full extent of it their demands for the impeachment of President Roosevelt would have been a great deal louder. But it was a fact of incalculable importance in the whole process of American preparedness for war. By the spring of 1941, six months before the United States entered the war, the following developments, among others, were in progress:

1. The exchange of scientific information—on all manner of subjects, including atomic energy and radar—had started with Sir Henry Tizard's Mission (approved by Roosevelt) to Washington in September, 1940. During his London trip, Hopkins had urged much closer collaboration and fuller exchange in this field and, shortly after his return, President James B. Conant of Harvard went to England as representative of Vannevar Bush's Research Council.

2. The pooling of military intelligence had started, largely through the efforts of General Marshall and his Assistant Chief of Staff, General George V. Strong. (The U.S. Navy remained for a long time reluctant to pool its own intelligence with anyone, even with the U.S. Army.)

3. There was, by Roosevelt's order and despite State Department qualms, effectively close co-operation between J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I. and British security services under the direction of a quiet Canadian, William Stephenson. The purpose of this co-operation was the detection and frustration of espionage and sabotage activities in the Western Hemisphere by agents of Germany, Italy and Japan, and also of Vichy France, Franco's Spain and, before Hitler turned eastward, the Soviet Union. It produced some remarkable results which were incalculably valuable, including the thwarting of attempted Nazi Putsche in Bolivia, in the heart of South America, and in Panama. Hoover was later decorated by the British and Stephenson by the U.S. Government for exploits which could hardly be advertised at the time.

4. A steady stream of American military and civilian specialists, mostly technical, had started to England, to study British

and instruct in American methods, and even to test the pe: formance of American airplanes and other weapons unde actual combat conditions. (For instance, the armament of th B-17 Flying Fortress was substantially increased as a result c its first encounters in 1941 with the Luftwaffe.)

5 The U S Atlantic Fleet was constantly being strengthene with some new ships and some transferred from the Pacific, fc the purpose of guarding the sea lanes in the Western Atlanti and thereby relieving the British Navy of a large area of respor sibility.

6 Plans were drawn up for the occupation by U.S. Forces c Greenland, Iceland, the Azores and Martinique. (There wei other plans for operations all over creation, but these were th nearest to fruition, in the cases of Greenland and Iceland, c course, they were carried out)

7. Damaged British warships were repaired in America shipyards

8 R.A.F pilots and air-crews were trained in the U.S.

9. Most important of all—the first American-British sta talks had been instituted for the formation of joint grand stra egy in the event of American entry into the war These tall started on a purely exploratory basis in mid-August, 194 when Marshall and Stark sent a mission headed by Admir Ghormley, General Delos C Emmons (of the Air Corps) an General Strong to London. They arrived in time to occup front-row seats at the Battle of Britain and the Blitz. The principal function was to gain the fullest possible informatio as to Britain's strength and prospects, as well as estimates c German strength and intentions, the main purpose being, : Samuel Eliot Morison has pointed out, to avoid the disastrot mistakes made by the King of the Belgians the previous winte and spring when, in consequence of an overscrupulous rega for neutrality, he refused to conduct any conversations wi British and French authorities on plans in the event of a Ge man invasion of Belgium. In the midst of these London talks on September 27, came the announcement of the signing of the Tripartite Treaty in Berlin, whereby Japan recog and Italian leadership in creating the "New Or

velt and the U.S. Chiefs of Staff would renounce them wh
extraordinary developments in the Pacific changed drastic
the whole global picture.

Whether Roosevelt's judgment was good or bad is, of co
an entirely different question for historians to ponder in
own good time.

CHAPTER XIII

Unlimited Emergency

THE Roosevelt-Churchill meeting which Hopkins had di
cussed when he went to London in January did not take pla
as planned in the spring. There were far too many and too
critical immediate problems to permit time for talks about
long-range prospects and projects. The German Blitzkrieg,
appearing more devastating and irresistible than ever, burst
through the mountain passes of Yugoslavia and then turned
into Greece, as Churchill had predicted it would. The British
had to face the grim decision either of leaving the Greeks to
their unavoidable fate, or of sending in reinforcements which
could not possibly be strong enough to render more than token
aid. Churchill chose the latter and more honorable but hopeles
alternative, and took the consequences. Greece was overru
with terrifying speed, the remnants of the small British Exp
ditionary Force were evacuated in a minor Dunkirk, and th
the Germans launched their remarkable attack by airborne
troops on the strategic island of Crete. The defense of Crete
meant far more to the British than the mere saving of prestige
involved in the attempt to render aid to a brave Ally, and the
defeat administered by the German paratroopers was one of
the most decisive and humiliating of the whole war. Serious
injury was done to British morale in general and, in particular,
disagreeable disputes were provoked between the three British
services, Navy, Army and Air Force. Following this disaster,

eneral Rommel, who had taken over command in Africa from e hapless Italians, launched the first of his dashing campaigns d regained all the ground in Libya (except the fortress of obruk) that Wavell had captured the previous winter. The British were thrown back into Egypt and their ability to defend the Suez Canal was in considerable doubt.

In the midst of the Greek fighting, Roosevelt and Hopkins read a remarkably prescient memorandum prepared in the Navy Department. It was written by Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, who was later to become one of the great masters of amphibious warfare in the Mediterranean and the Pacific. He foresaw the ominous possibility that, by June, the British migh have been driven out of the Mediterranean and, if that hap pened, "The German Arms will go by sea to Syria, and the er will then be in sight." The last two paragraphs of Turne memorandum were as follows:

> Because of the present tragic situation of the British Governm do not recommend troubling them further at this time by inforr em as to our opinion on the seriousness of the situation. . ealize it pretty well themselves, even though they are somewha optimistic. Warning them on this score could have only a ba fluence on their morale, and could serve no useful purpose.
>
> On the contrary, I believe that a public statement by the Pr praising the courage and self-sacrificing stand taken by the Br sending troops to Greece would strengthen Mr. Churchill's p might give some uplift to morale, and might influence neutr ticularly if coupled with praise of the Greeks themselves. Ho suggest that any such statement not be made until we clearl end of the hostilities in Greece.

. . . man wrote from London in a personal letter

American defense from bases in the British Isles and Africa, for such action, by the peculiar definition of that befuddled period, would have involved advocacy of entry into a "foreign" war, against which so many solemn pledges had been made.

On March 19, shortly after the passage of Lend Lease, Roose- [illegible] -cht, *Potomac*, for a cruise [illegible] was the last of the "care- [illegible] There was no pretense of inspecting bases this time and the yacht never ventured more than a few hours' sail from the Florida Coast Also included in the ship's company on this cruise were Robert H. Jackson, the Attorney General, Harold Ickes and Steve Early; oddly enough, the presence of Jackson and Ickes among the guests was cause for considerable satisfaction among the more rabid New Dealers in Washington, who took it as evidence that the President was again paying attention to his social objectives at home and not concentrating on the alien war in Europe—although, be it said, neither Jackson nor Ickes was any more likely than Hopkins was to underrate the German menace

Since, in an earlier chapter, some reflection has been cast on Hopkins' prowess as a fisherman, it should be recorded in justice to him that on this cruise he not only hooked but actually landed a twenty-five pound kingfish, four feet long. Otherwise, I do not think that he enjoyed this cruise very much; his thoughts were elsewhere On March 28, a radio message to the *Potomac* informed the President of the coup d'état in Yugoslavia [illegible] -rown [illegible] into [illegible] The *Potomac* then returned to Port Everglades, Florida

There was a German ship, the *Arauca*, tied up at Port Everglades She had been chased in there by a British cruiser in December, 1939, and had remained ever since, flying one of the last Nazi flags visible from American soil. Early in the morning of the last day of Roosevelt's holiday, word came to the *Potomac* that the F.B I. had uncovered a plan for the wholesale sabotage of Axis ships by their crews, so the President ordered them seized immediately. Later that day, Sunday, March 30, Coast

Burns was in a dual capacity, remaining as a member of the staff of Under Secretary Patterson in the War Department and therefore in immediate touch with the huge procurement problem. Oscar Cox and Philip Young were brought into Lend Lease from the Treasury Department, the former as counsel and general improviser, and the latter as administrator. One General Spalding (Sidney P) was in charge of the production division and another General Spalding (George R.) was in charge of storage and shipping The Lend-Lease staff grew in the first few months to about a hundred people, a mere handful by Washington wartime standards. They were housed in the Federal Reserve Building

Because Lend Lease involved matters of utmost secrecy, Hopkins for the first time in his life worried about the imposition of measures of strict security. He wrote sharply to Young:

> Be sure and organize a filing system over there that is absolutely secret with locks on all files and a guard who has been carefully investigated by the FBI or the Secret Service as to his reliability We simply cannot take any chances on anything getting out of the files
>
> Incidentally, I think all employees over there should be carefully investigated by the Secret Service I particularly want an inquiry made as to their attitude about the war I don t want anybody working anywhere about us who by any chance wants Germany to lick Britain
>
> Be sure and spread the word around that no one in our crowd should give any interviews to newspapermen, privately or publicly. If anybody asks what you are doing simply say that any announcement about it must come from the White House and refer them to Mr Early It is very important that we don t get caught off base in regard to this matter

Most of Hopkins' scanty, personal correspondence at this time revealed his extreme impatience Having received several letters from a Deserving Democratic politician who wanted him to do a favor for another D D , Hopkins wrote

> I do not know why in the light of things I am doing today I should be burdened by handling a purely personal matter for ——— I have repeatedly sent word to ——— that I am not handling any politi matters of any kind or description and I simply think I should be asked to do it I am refusing to see other people on similar

sions and there is no more reason for my seeing ——— than there is for seeing a dozen others.

One former W.P.A. associate of whom Hopkins was particularly fond sent him a letter which he wished to have transmitted to the President. Hopkins returned the letter to him with this curt note:

> I think you ought to keep your shirt on about the W.P.A. There is nothing you can do but let the President handle this and there is just no sense in precipitating any moves. I would not send the attached letter to the President. He would never read it anyway because it is far too long. Your poker-playing habits are much better than your letter-writing habits!

In a moment of extreme irritability at this time Hopkins said to me, "I'm getting sick and tired of having to listen to complaints from those goddam New Dealers!" I could hardly believe my ears.

Hopkins had plenty of excuse for impatience, for his responsibilities were far heavier than ever before and his health was miserably bad. He was forced to resume the rigorous treatments involving repeated transfusions and injections of various kinds to keep him alive. He rarely left the White House but managed to do an enormous amount of business in his bedroom, aided primarily by Isador Lubin who provided exceptionally acute and accurate pairs of eyes and ears.

Actually, Lend Lease in itself provided no overwhelming difficulties in the beginning. It was, in fact, merely an offshoot of the basic problems of production and transportation. There were seven billion dollars to spend but the weapons to buy were not coming off the assembly lines fast enough nor were there enough ships to carry them overseas even when they did. This was a time when one of the most important words in the American language was "bottleneck," and the most formidable bottleneck of all was created by the ancient principle that you cannot eat your cake and have it: the nation could not meet the reality of wartime demands for production while maintaining the illusion that it was still "at peace." There existed an Industrial Mobilization Plan which, in the words of Bernard M.

Baruch, its principal author, was designed to enable the country "to pass from a peace to a war status with a minimum of confusion, waste and loss." But—the thinking behind this and all other plans before 1940 was based on the assumption that a nation passed from a peace status to a war status as quickly and as decisively as one passes from one room to another. No provision whatsoever had been made for the maze of corridors, blind alleys and series of antechambers—labeled "Phony War," "cash and carry," "more than mere words," "Lend Lease," etc.—which the United States was compelled for the first time in its own or any other nation's history to traverse between September 1, 1939, and December 7, 1941. This was particularly confusing for the Army officers charged with responsibility for the supply problem. Although Stimson, Patterson and Marshall were well aware of the urgency, the generals and colonels charged with the implementation of policy were men trained to adhere rigidly to the established Table of Organization and to base all calculations upon that. It was their job to take the number of American soldiers currently authorized by Congress and multiply that by the various items of equipment—rifles, blankets, C-rations, howitzers, toothbrushes, etc. They had been trained to believe that if they asked for more than the irreducible minimum they would find themselves detailed to instruction at some boys' military academy in South Dakota, where promotion is apt to be slow.

The thought that they should sponsor a program which within a given span of years would enable the United States to exceed the combined production of Germany, Italy, Japan and all their slave states was too outrageously ridiculous to be worth considering. This understandable hesitancy represented multiplication of the fears, previously described, which had limited Air Force officers to an estimate of only nine thousand parachutes as the production target for 1941. The fear was a mark of respect for isolationist suspicion that we were arming not for "defense," but for war—as though they were two entirely separate and distinct activities. Thus, although every calculation of the staff planners foresaw the vital importance of amph[illegible] warf[illegible]e, no military authority would dare to [illegible]

sions and there is no more reason for my seeing ——— than there is for seeing a dozen others.

One former W.P.A. associate of whom Hopkins was particularly fond sent him a letter which he wished to have transmitted to the President. Hopkins returned the letter to him with this curt note:

> I think you ought to keep your shirt on about the W.P.A. There is nothing you can do but let the President handle this and there is just no sense in precipitating any moves. I would not send the attached letter to the President. He would never read it anyway because it is far too long. Your poker-playing habits are much better than your letter-writing habits!

In a moment of extreme irritability at this time Hopkins said to me, "I'm getting sick and tired of having to listen to complaints from those goddam New Dealers!" I could hardly believe my ears.

Hopkins had plenty of excuse for impatience, for his responsibilities were far heavier than ever before and his health was miserably bad. He was forced to resume the rigorous treatments involving repeated transfusions and injections of various kinds to keep him alive. He rarely left the White House but managed to do an enormous amount of business in his bedroom, aided primarily by Isador Lubin who provided exceptionally acute and accurate pairs of eyes and ears.

Actually, Lend Lease in itself provided no overwhelming difficulties in the beginning. It was, in fact, merely an offshoot of the basic problems of production and transportation. There were seven billion dollars to spend but the weapons to buy were not coming off the assembly lines fast enough nor were there enough ships to carry them overseas even when they did. This was a time when one of the most important words in the American language was "bottleneck," and the most formidable bottleneck of all was created by the ancient principle that you cannot eat your cake and have it: the nation could not meet the reality of wartime demands for production while maintaining the illusion that it was still "at peace." There existed an Industrial Mobilization Plan which, in the words of Bernard M.

Baruch, its principal author, was designed to enable the country "to pass from a peace to a war status with a minimum of confusion, waste and loss." But—the thinking behind this and all other plans before 1940 was based on the assumption that a nation passed from a peace status to a war status as quickly and as decisively as one passes from one room to another. No provision whatsoever had been made for the maze of corridors, blind alleys and series of antechambers—labeled "Phony War," "cash and carry," "more than mere words," "Lend Lease," etc.—which the United States was compelled for the first time in its own or any other nation's history to traverse between September 1, 1939, and December 7, 1941. This was particularly confusing for the Army officers charged with responsibility for the supply problem. Although Stimson, Patterson and Marshall were well aware of the urgency, the generals and colonels charged with the implementation of policy were men trained to adhere rigidly to the established Table of Organization and to base all calculations upon that. It was their job to take the number of American soldiers currently authorized by Congress and multiply that by the various items of equipment—rifles, blankets, Garands, howitzers, [illegible] etc. They had been trained to believe that if they asked for more than the irreducible minimum they would find themselves detailed to instruction at some boys' military academy in South Dakota, where promotion is apt to be slow.

The thought that they [illegible] sponsor a program which within a given span of years would enable the United States to exceed the combined production of Germany, Italy, Japan [illegible] all their client states was too outrageously ridiculous [illegible] considering. This understandable hesitancy [illegible] plication of the Army, [illegible] described [illegible] Air Force officers [illegible] an estimate of only [illegible] chutes as the production target for 1941. The [illegible] of respect the [illegible] suspicion that [illegible] for "defense" but [illegible] war—as though [illegible] separate and distinct activities. Thus [illegible] tion of the staff planners foresaw the [illegible] [illegible], no military authority [illegible]

heavy appropriations for landing craft, for this would surely suggest a nefarious intention to get into some "foreign" war. There was even a considerable ruckus among isolationists in Congress when, in 1941, a list of Army requirements from the textile industry included the item, *"overseas caps."* Although it would be hard to imagine a more innocuous implement of offensive warfare, to the isolationists that word "overseas" spelled another A.E.F.

A friend of General Marshall's told me at this time that he had been with the Chief of Staff after a grilling of several hours by some Congressional Committee which sought to trap him into admissions which would prove Roosevelt a warmonger. Driving away from Capitol Hill, Marshall closed his eyes and said, "If I can only keep all personal feelings out of my system, I may be able to get through with this job."

The reluctance of American industry to convert itself to war production on anything like the necessary scale was also understandable. Of course some of the industrial leaders, notably Henry Ford, were themselves violent isolationists and refused (as Ford did) to fill orders involving weapons for the British. But among others there was inevitable doubt that the war with its extraordinary demands would last much longer, particularly in view of the sweeping German victories at that time. Business was booming in consumer goods—indeed, in 1941, the automobile industry reached an all-time high in sales of cars for civilian purposes. The government could plead and cajole but it could not compel manufacturers to convert their plants nor could it fortify contracts with satisfactory long-term guarantees. No one could tell how long the present emergency would last, nor what form the next emergency might take. The wise manufacturer knows that if he expands his production too far beyond the probabilities—estimated on the basis of market analysis and consumer research as well as his own experience—he will end up in bankruptcy. Now he was being asked to provide for the needs of X million men of X nations in a potential war to be fought under every possible condition and circumstance that the great globe itself could present. Small wonder that he quailed at the prospect. His problems were further com-

plagued by serious stoppages through strikes, largely the result of persistent Communist attempts to sabotage war production in every way possible; one of them, in the North American Aviation Plant at Inglewood, California, compelled Roosevelt for the first time in his career to order armed intervention by the U.S. Army, a decision that was deeply repugnant to him.

Hopkins moved into this situation as the recognized and designated representative of the President in all considerations of production, transportation, raw materials, priorities, allocation, etc. He had no experience whatsoever in handling such problems. He had none of the "know how" of a Knudsen or a Batt. But then he had known nothing of the disease silicosis when he undertook to combat it. He had the amazing ability to find out about things quickly—to talk to people who did know and to determine who was making sense and who wasn't.

Admiral Emory S. Land, head of the Maritime Commission, with whom Hopkins had many tough but friendly tussles, gave him the admiring title, "Generalissimo of the Needle Brigade." That was a precise description. Needling was one form of activity in which Hopkins did not lack experience. When some failure was brought to his attention, he would pick up the telephone and say, "Get me General So-and-so." When the War Department reported that So-and-so was at the moment en route to Los Angeles Hopkins would bark, "Get him wherever he is!" And the superefficient White House switchboard operators would have the General hauled off the train or plane at Dodge City, Kansas, and brought to the telephone and compelled to explain "Why are there 28 P-40s waiting at the [illegible] Plant for those Prestone pumps? What the hell is going on [illegible] anyway." Hopkins was making these telephone calls even w[illegible] undergoing the painful treatments without which he wo[illegible] have starved to death. Because of his addiction to word [illegible] mouth communication, there are not many copies [illegible] documents among his papers, but the number [illegible] those that came to his card table desk and that he [illegible] power he for the problems of supply and [illegible] are extremely large

Here are a few scraps of excerpts picked from a bale of documents of this spring of 1941:

(*From the Greek Minister to Hopkins:*) As you know, the needs of Greece in aircraft are mentioned in the consolidated list handed to you by me last week, and I should be much obliged to you if you would. . . .

(*From John D. Biggers to Hopkins:*) You asked me about alloyed steels, such as nickel steel, chrome steel, etc. There are no exact figures available, but the following tabulation indicates the approximate percentages. . . .

(*From Sumner Welles to Hopkins:*) I am enclosing herewith a copy of a memorandum of my conversation with the Minister of Yugoslavia last night. I am attaching to it a list of the Yugoslav ships which he handed me. . . .

(*From Bernard M. Baruch to Hopkins:*) The questions you asked and which I told you I was in no position to answer, and which you asked me to revolve in my mind, have given me the gravest concern. . . . We are improperly organized. It has cost us 20% more in money (which is comparatively unimportant) but also 33⅓% in time which cannot be measured. . . . I am sorry I cannot be more encouraging but if my opinion is wanted, no one knows better than you that we must look grim realities in the face. . . .

(*From Hopkins to Mayor La Guardia:*) I am enclosing photostats of a couple of communist documents which show the way they ar operating on this. It just seems to me that we have got to find a wa to beat these people. From my point of view they are just as mucl a potential enemy as the Germans. I realize that you are not respon sible for prosecuting law breakers but. . . .

(*From Major G. K. Heiss of the Army and Navy Munitions Boar to Hopkins:*) With reference to your telephonic inquiry relative t information concerning quartz crystals. . . .

(*From Col. William J. Donovan to Hopkins:*) You will remembe that when we talked last we discussed the danger of Germany strikin in through French North Africa and also of coming in through Spai and Portugal. If this should happen . . .

(*From Arthur B. Purvis to Hopkins:*) Regarding your note . . on the new thermal process for producing aluminum. . . .

(*From Robert A. Lovett to Hopkins:*) I want to confirm the state ment made to you on Sunday afternoon regarding the existence a this time of critical shortage of alloy steels. I have checked into th matter and find. . . .

(*From James Forrestal to Hopkins:*) Shortage of steel for propelle

blades due to strikes at Universal Cyclops Steel Corporation has practically halted delivery of propellers for Navy Fighters . . .

(*From Admiral H L Vickery to Hopkins:*) I just want to inform you that I have one shipbuilding way vacant at this time because I can't get steel delivery . .

(*From Oscar Cox to Hopkins:*) You asked me about locating a man who might advise you from time to time on steel I asked one of my classmates at M I T. who is on the staff up there . . .

(*From General Burns to Hopkins.*) In regard to your inquiry concerning the amount of small arms ammunition being manufactured for private purposes . .

(*From the President—penciled note:*) H H to put Lauch Currie in as his asst in China aid *& announce?* FDR

(*From Lauchlin Currie to Hopkins.*) As you may have noticed, the President made no specific commitment re aid to China at his Press conference today You left me in a bit of a quandary today as to procedure and status .

(*From Russell W Davenport to Hopkins*) This letter will prob-

letter, namely, Political Warfare

(*Again Lovett to Hopkins*) The President asked me whether or not our four-engine equipment (such as the B 24's) could carry a spare engine in the North Atlantic hop I indicated that from the point of view of weight

(*From the President to Hopkins*) Take this up with [Sol] Bloom and Walter George and see if you can get the law amended The alternative to Congressional action is to send the oil in Government owned, undocumented ships

(*From Sir Arthur Salter to Hopkins*) I enclosed the best note I can do in answer to your question as to the rate of building needed in the U S in order (with British building) to off-set losses, on the hypothesis that

I d

fol

en

mc . . . convinced that the British face imminent defeat unless they are given immediate aid by the United States in the matter of getting an adequate amount of shipping into United Kingdom ports . . .

(*From James Norman Hall to Hopkins.*) In the name of old time

Grinnell friendship, I am going to ask a favor of you, and please don't curse me out until you learn what the favor is. The little island of Tahiti, in French Oceania . . . has, for more than three months, been deprived of the right to purchase any gasoline or kerosene from the U.S.A. . . .

(*From Lt. Col. Rex Benson of the British Embassy to Hopkins:*) The Ambassador has asked me to let you know that on the basis of confidential information that was conveyed to Mr. Casey regarding alleged dissatisfaction existing amongst Australian and New Zealand troops in the Middle East. . . .

(*From Representative Albert J. Engel of Michigan to Hopkins:*) Herewith is sent you a self-explanatory letter . . . with reference to shipment of quantities of tin plate to England. . . .

(*From Isador Lubin to Hopkins:*) I have had a check made of the situation at the Frankfort Arsenal and the report that I get is that the equipment is adequate for greater production on the second and third shifts. . . .

(*From Edward Stettinius to Hopkins:*) The Russian Ambassador cabled to Moscow two days ago again saying he had to have an estimate immediately of the raw copper Russia would need. . . .

(*From Ward Canaday, Chairman of the Board of Willys-Overland Motors, Inc., to Hopkins and Biggers:*) The following is in summary of our talk last week about Bauxite transfers in the Virgin Islands. . . .

(*From Ambassador Anthony Biddle to Hopkins:*) It would have done your heart good to see General Sikorski's face when I conveyed your message regarding the decision to include Poland on the "Lease-Lend" list. . . . He is profoundly grateful and asked me to tell you so immediately—and at the same time to send you his warmest respects. . . .

(*From Oscar R. Ewing to Hopkins:*) The deeper I get into this aluminum situation, the more obvious it is that the bottleneck is *power.* Something must be done. . . .

(*Again from Stettinius to Hopkins:*) You asked me on the phone Sunday how much magnesium was going into civilian use. You will find herewith a statement showing. . . .

(*From Philip Young to Hopkins:*) Attached is the summary of the Netherlands East Indies purchasing situation, which I promised you some time ago. . . .

(*From Harriman to Hopkins:*) Reference is made to your 2121. . . . The view that aircraft should have the first call on production of this material is shared by the British. . . .

(*From Richard G. Casey, A[illegible] Minis[illegible] Hopkins:*) Your American requirements of [illegible] chrome and probably zircon-bearing san[illegible] ities

(*From Breckenridge Long to Hopkins:*) I am responding to your note of yesterday about Jay Allen. We have done everything which could have been done and are still attentive to his case. He acted deliberately in the face of warning and was caught by the military authorities. In spite of our many representations he is still held. He also had a history of activity in connection with smuggling refugees across the military line (occupied France). His case is not an easy one. Attached is a memorandum of some length which indicates the action we have taken.

(*From Hopkins to Missy LeHand:*) They tell me that a picture called "Citizen Kane," produced by RKO, is excellent. It apparently takes Hearst over the hoops. If you can get it, I think the President would like very much to see it.

(*Again from Harriman to Hopkins:*) Greatly expanded program for use of incendiary bomb is cause of increase over figures in paragraph three of my 1786. In fact . . . scheduled number of units. . . .

(*Again from Vickery to Hopkins:*) I am still having a great deal of trouble with steel. . . .

(*From the Former Naval Person to the President and Hopkins:*) The result which may follow from American and British tank design proceeding for the future on independent lines is something about which I am greatly concerned. Three types of the M-3 American medium tank are already being produced.

(*From Lord Beaverbrook to Hopkins:*) May I persuade you to lift up the M3 Medium Tank to the highest place priority. If you would take such a decision, you would help us with our pressing need. . . .

(*From the President to the Former Naval Person:*) We have had a thorough review of our whole tank situation here during the last few days and I can now give you the following results. We plan to increase our peak production of our medium tank from 600 to 1000 a month reaching that goal. . . .

(*Again from Land to the President and Hopkins:*) Our shipbuilding expansion program is now far enough along so that we can and should move swiftly to. . . .

(*From Hopkins to James Rowe, Jr.:*) I know nothing whatever about a row between Pan American and American Export Lines. I have no interest whatever how the decision is reached. I simply cannot be responsible for what Wayne Johnson tells someone else that Juan Trippe has said. If I spent my time running down things like this I would do nothing else, so will you tell anybody who asks you that I have no opinion about this on either side; that he is a damn liar and let it go at that. Incidentally, this might go for anything else you might hear anybody say about me on any such things as these. I trust you will do it effectively.



in practical, businesslike, hard common sense, but even so it was certainly not misplaced.

One adviser who remained in the background, but who exerted considerable influence, was the Frenchman, Jean Monnet. He was no New Dealer. He was, in fact, a coldly calculating businessman who had seen his own country suffer terrible defeat and Britain come close to it because of the refusal or the inability of industrialists and soldiers to face the facts of total war. Monnet was the great, single-minded apostle of all-out production, preaching the doctrine that ten thousand tanks too many are far preferable to one tank too few.

Be it said that the businessmen in government in Washington were not slow to respond when they realized that this was a game played according to no previous rules and for stakes no smaller than the life or death of the Republic. Production was their game and here was the greatest challenge ever offered. Many of them were ruthless in putting the fear of God (and of public opinion) into the hearts of their old buddies of the Detroit Athletic Club. It was not too easy for private manufacturers to get away with slacking or profiteering under the eyes of men who knew all the tricks of their trade.

Hopkins, who had once appeared to believe that the terms "big business" and "entrenched greed" were virtually synonymous, now found himself working on new but common ground with men who had once appeared to fear him as the avowed destroyer of "the American way of life." One of the distinguished industrialists who came into government service in 1941 was James S. Knowlson, a Chicagoan and Republican, President and Chairman of the Board of the Stewart-Warner Corporation. It was a proud day for Hopkins when years later he read an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in which Knowlson described his Washington experience:

> I lost ten pounds and a lot of personal prejudices. I find to my rather shocked surprise that I once made a memorandum like this: "I have been talking with Hopkins and I can't escape the conviction that he has the clearest, coolest mind of anyone I have ever seen here. He factors complicated problems into simple terms, and he has given direction to my thought." I don't know anything about Mr. Hopkins'

Steve Early had cautioned the newspapermen not to attach any special importance to the speech—an intended tip-off that it would be merely a routine performance. This suggestion from Early, who always chose his words carefully, in itself created reverberations in the anti-isolationist press, in England and other countries. The tension was heightened by a number of public utterances by high officers of the government, notably Stimson and Knox, which seemed to place the United States on the very brink of war. Roosevelt had read these speeches before they were delivered. It was generally assumed that he approved the position taken—as indeed he did. But that did not mean that he was willing or ready to go so far himself.

Then, suddenly, Roosevelt postponed his speech on the grounds of ill health. When it was later announced that the speech was to be given on May 27, newspapermen asked Early if he cared to repeat his admonition not to attach special importance to it, and he declined to do so. So the anticipation was intensified.

During those days in mid-May Roosevelt spent a great deal of time in bed and rarely went to his office. He said that this was one of the most persistent colds he had ever had. One day, after a long talk with him in his bedroom, I came out and said to Missy LeHand, "The President seems in fine shape to me. He didn't cough or sneeze or even blow his nose the whole time I was in there and he looked wonderfully well. What is really the matter with him?" Missy smiled and said, "What he's suffering from most of all is a case of sheer exasperation." Indeed, he seemed at the time to be exasperated with practically everyone—the isolationists, on one side, who were demanding in effect that he resign; and, on the other side, the extreme interventionists who were demanding that he immediately send expeditionary forces to England, the Azores, Dakar, the Netherlands East Indies, Singapore, the Aleutian Islands and other points of interest.

Very few people were allowed to see the President during those days. There were a lot of very nervous men in high places in Washington wondering what was the reason for this inaccessibility and, when the President should finally emerge from it,



turned to Welles and said, "Sumner, you must have met Hess when you were in Europe last year." Welles said that he had. I was excited for I thought that now I was going to hear the inexplicable explained.

"What's he like?" Roosevelt asked.

Welles gave a thoughtful description of his impressions of Hess—fanatical, mystical devotion to his Fuehrer, apparently brutish stupidity, etc. Roosevelt was silent for a moment, then: "I wonder what is *really* behind this story?" Welles said he did not know.

So all I learned was that the President was asking precisely the same question that was being asked at thousands if not llions of other American supper tables. Months later, wher rd Beaverbrook was in Moscow, Stalin asked him what wa: : real truth about Hess, as will appear in a later chapter *erybody* was mystified.

On May 24, the monster German battleship *Bismarck*, whicl d emerged from its hide-out at Bergen, Norway, attende the cruiser *Prinz Eugen*, was intercepted between Icelan d Greenland by the battleship *Prince of Wales* and the bat cruiser *Hood*. In an engagement that lasted only a fe inutes the *Prince of Wales* was slightly damaged and th *ood* was sunk. The German ships got away. When last seei e *Bismarck* was on a southwesterly course, heading right int e convoy routes toward Newfoundland and the U.S. Ea ast. For nearly two days after that the whereabouts of *th smarck* was unknown. There was all sorts of speculation as r intended destination. Among the guesses were:

She would shell Halifax, New York, Norfolk, and vario her targets.

She would go to Rio de Janeiro to make a big propagan splay for South Americans.

She would go around Cape Horn and all the way across t cific to Japan. (There were several theories as to how s ould refuel.)

Certainly, after the Hess episode, it seemed that no pos lity was too absurd to be considered improbable.

Roosevelt thought it not unlikely that the *Bismarck* wou

without a second's thought would sign a treaty today, break it tomorrow and sign a second one the following day. Nations must fulfill their treaty obligations, he said, or international society could not exist.

When he completed his general summary of the Soviet Union's attitude toward Germany he said "therefore our views coincide."

I told Mr. Stalin that the question of aid to the Soviet Union was divided into two parts. First, what would Russia most require that the United States could deliver immediately and, second, what would be Russia's requirements on the basis of a long war?

Stalin listed in the first category the immediate need of, first, anti-aircraft guns of medium calibre, of from 20 to 37 mm., together with ammunition. He stated that he needed such medium calibre guns because of the rapidity of their fire and their mobility. He stated that all together he needed approximately 20,000 pieces of anti-aircraft artillery, large and small. He believed that if he could acquire such a quantity it would immediately release nearly 2,000 pursuit ships which are today required for the protection of military objectives behind the Soviet lines and such planes, if released, could be used as attacking forces against the enemy.

Second, he asked for large size machine guns for the defense of his cities.

Third, he said he heard there were many rifles available in the United States and he believed their calibre corresponded to the calibre used in his Army. He stated that he needed one million or more such rifles. I asked Mr. Stalin if he needed ammunition for these rifles and he replied that if the calibre was the same as the one used by the Red Army "we have plenty."

In the second category, namely, the supplies needed for a long range war, he mentioned first high octane aviation gasoline, second, aluminum for the construction of airplanes and, third, the other items already mentioned in the list presented to our Government in Washington.

At this point in the conversation Mr. Stalin suddenly made the remark, "Give us anti-aircraft guns and the aluminum and we can fight for three or four years."

I referred to the 200 Curtiss P-40's which are being delivered to the Soviet Union and, in reply to a question from Mr. Stalin, I confirmed the fact that 140 were being delivered by way of England and 60 from the United States.

In connection with the delivery of these planes I referred to Lt. Alison's presence in Moscow and said he was an outstanding expert in the operation of this type of plane. I asked if he would care to have

inept when engaged in offensive operations—they had done so in the Napoleonic wars and again in Finland. But when they were called upon to defend their homeland they were superb fighters—and there were certainly a great many of them. But, Steinhardt emphasized, it was supremely difficult for any outsider in Moscow to get a clear picture of what was really going on. He and other diplomats in Moscow had been continually frustrated in their attempted dealings with the Soviet authorities because of the prevailing attitude of suspicion toward all foreigners and consequent secretiveness. Hopkins said he was determined somehow or other to break through this wall of suspicion.

He had a long rest that night and the next day drove about Moscow with Steinhardt on a sight-seeing tour. At 6:30 P.M., Steinhardt took him to the Kremlin to meet Stalin. Hopkins' report to the President of that meeting follows, in full:

without a second's thought would sign a treaty today, break it *tomorrow* and sign a second one the following day. Nations must fulfill their treaty obligations, he said, or international society could not exist.

When he completed his general summary of the Soviet Union's attitude toward Germany he said "therefore our views coincide."

I told Mr. Stalin that the question of aid to the Soviet Union was divided into two parts. First, what would Russia most require that the United States could deliver immediately and, second, what would be Russia's requirements on the basis of a long war?

Stalin listed in the first category the immediate need of, first, anti-aircraft guns of medium calibre, of from 20 to 37 mm., together with ammunition. He stated that he needed such medium calibre guns be-[illegible]se of the rapidity of their fire and their mobility. He stated that all [illegible] he needed approximately 20,000 pieces of anti-aircraft [illegible], large and small. He believed that if he could acquire such a [illegible] it would immediately release nearly 2,000 pursuit ships which [illegible]y required for the protection of military objectives behind the [illegible]et lines and such planes, if released, could be used as attacking [illegible]orces against the enemy.

Second, he asked for large size machine guns for the defense of his

Lt Alison stationed in Archangel in an advisory capacity, to which Mr. Stalin replied affirmatively

Mr. Stalin stated that he would be glad if we would send any technicians that we could to the Soviet Union to help train his own airmen in the use of these planes He stated that his own airmen would show us everything about the Russian equipment, which he stated we would find very interesting

He described at some length, but not in great detail as he did in the conference the next day, the planes which he had available. Mr Stalin said the plane he needed particularly was the short-range bomber, capable of operating in a radius of 600 to 1100 kilometres, or with a total range of 1200 to 2200 kilometres

I asked Mr Stalin what he thought was the best route to ship supplies from the United States to the Soviet Union Mr Stalin stated that the Persian Gulf-Iranian route was not good because of the limited capacity of the Iranian railways and highways He stated, "furthermore we do not yet know the view of the Iranian Government on this subject"

Mr Stalin stated that the Vladivostok route was not a favorable one. I emphasized the danger of its being cut off by the Japanese and Mr Stalin in turn emphasized the great distance from the scene of battle

Mr Stalin believed that the Archangel route was probably the mos practicable Both Mr Stalin and Mr Molotov stated that the Arch angel harbor could be kept open in the winter by the aid of ice brea ers Mr Stalin pointed out that the only two absolutely ice free po in the north were Murmansk and Kaldalaksha

I told Mr Stalin that my stay in Moscow must be brief I was to accomplish as much as possible in the short time which I ha my disposal I asked Mr Stalin whether he wished to carry o conversations personally or would prefer that I would discuss of the details with other representatives of the Soviet Govern I said that, of course, I would prefer to confer directly with h I realized he had a great many responsibilities at the moment him that I had some personal messages from the President wanted to deliver at an appropriate time

Mr Stalin replied, 'You are our guest you have but to co He told me he would be at my disposal every day from six It was then agreed that I confer with representatives of the at ten o'clock that night

I reiterated to Mr Stalin the appreciation of the Pre United States of the splendid resistance of the Soviet A the President's determination to do everything to assi Union in its valiant struggle again   an invader

Mr. Stalin replied with an expression of gratitude of the Sov
Government.

I told Mr Stalin that I expected to interview the representatives of the Anglo-American press following my meeting and asked whether Mr Stalin had any wishes in connection with what I should say or whether he would prefer that no interview be held at all. I told him that under any circumstances the correspondents' stories would be subject to the control of his censorship.

To this Mr Stalin replied that anything I might have to say would require no censorship by his Government.

I expressed to Mr Molotov my desire to call upon him and it was arranged that I should see Mr. Molotov at three the next day.

ter that evening Hopkins engaged in technical discussions neral Yakovlev, an artilleryman of the Red Army, Gen- IcNarney and Major Yeaton. Most of the discussion wa the items previously mentioned by Stalin—antiaircraft gur luminum, rifles, etc. When that list was exhausted, Hopkins went on to suggest that a Russian technical mission be sent to Washington and kept there permanently to discuss new problems as they came up day by day. Yakovlev refused to comment on this suggestion saying it should be taken up with Stalin. This was Hopkins' first real encounter with the limitations im posed on the lower levels (which meant any level below th very top) of the Soviet system; they did not dare to utte word on any topic beyond the prescribed agenda. Hopkins as Yakovlev if he couldn't think of other items that the A might need and Yakovlev—doubtless with the utmo luctance—said that he could think of nothing else, th most important items had been covered. In the minutes eting appears the following revealing passage:

> Mr. Hopkins stated that he was surprised that General did not mention tanks and anti-tank guns. General Yakov I think we have enough. Mr Hopkins remarked that many necessary when fighting this particular enemy. Gener agreed. When asked the weight of Russia's heaviest vley replied, it is a good tank. kovlev was asked if Russian artillery ha ... He replied, our artillery sh iscussion of the tank

Yakovlev stated that the Russians could use extra tanks and anti-tank guns and said America could provide Russia with them. He went on further to say, "I am not empowered to say whether we do or do not need tanks or anti-tank guns"

Hopkins was greatly impressed with the black-out in Moscow which was even more impenetrable than London's He was also impressed by the tremendous concentration of anti-aircraft fire when German bombers came over on a raid A bomb shelter had been placed at his disposal and he and Steinhardt went there Hopkins was amazed at the champagne, caviar, chocolates, cigarettes with which the bomb shelter had been equipped and, according to Steinhardt, "He laughed heartily when I told him that no bomb shelter had ever been placed at my disposal and I owed this night's protection to his presence."

On Hopkins' second day in Moscow, July 31, he met with Stafford Cripps, who had returned in haste from England after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union They discussed principally the forthcoming Roosevelt-Churchill conference in its relation to Russia They agreed that the President and Prime Minister should send a joint message to Stalin at the end of the conference and discussed the wording of this message Cripps wrote a draft of the message based on their discussion and Hopkins took this draft with him to the Atlantic Conference Although some of this was cut out, the wording was essentially the same in the cable that was sent to Stalin from Argentia two weeks later—including the opening sentence, "We have taken the opportunity afforded by the consideration of the report of Mr Harry Hopkins on his return from Moscow to consult together as to how best our two countries can help your country in the splendid defence that you are putting up against the Nazi attack." (The only change there was that "making" was substituted for "putting up")

That afternoon Hopkins and Steinhardt called upon Molotov in the Kremlin as arranged The main topic was the situation in the Far East and the growing menace of Japan. In his report to the President on this conversation Hopkins did not record what he himself said in introducing the subject since

wants to have as many seasoned troops as possible for the great campaign which will come next Spring He stated that the German troops seemed to be tired, and the officers and men that they had captured had indicated they are "sick of war."

The German reserves are as much as 400 kilometres back of the front, and the communications between the reserves and the front line are extremely difficult. These supply lines require many thousands of German troops to guard and protect them from Russian raids

He said that in the battle now in progress, very many Russian and German troops are fighting far forward from their respective lines because of the advances made by both sides with their mechanized forces Stalin said that his soldiers did not consider the battle lost merely because the Germans at one point and another broke through with their mechanized forces The Russian mechanized forces would attack at another point often moving many miles behind the German line Merely because German forces pierce the Russian line does not mean the Russians are lost. They fight behind the Germans, are adept at the use of cover and fight their way out in the night He said, "Even the German tanks run out of petrol " This is merely a phase of modern warfare, and accounts for the fact that there have been no mass surrenders of troops on either side The Russians therefore have many "insurgent" troops which operate behind Germany s so called front line They constantly attack German aerodromes and lines of communications The Russians are more familiar with the terrain and know how to use the natural cover which nature has provided better than the Germans These "insurgent ' troops are proving a great menace to the German offensive

He believes that Germany underestimated the strength of the Russian Army, and have not now enough troops on the whole front to carry on a successful offensive war and at the same time guard their extended lines of communications He repeatedly emphasized the large number of men Germany was forced to use for this purpose, and believes that the Germans will have to go on the detensive themselves There is considerable evidence that they are already doing this They are burying many of their large tanks in the ground for defensive purposes. The Russians have already found 50 such defensive positions

Mr Stalin stated that in his opinion Hitler fears that he has too many men on the Russian front, which may account for their preparing some defensive positions so that some of their divisions might be returned to the German western areas of actual or potential operation

He thinks the Germans have now on his front about 70 t[illegible]nd motorized divisions. He also states that the Russo-Gerr already changed the character of divisional organization; mans had broken up their large armoured divisions and d

equipment through what Stalin called their tank and motorized divisions. Stalin stated that the war has already shown that infantry divisions must include a larger number of mechanized units. While Russia had a large number of tank and motorized divisions—none of them were a match for the German "Panzer" division, but were far stronger than other German divisions. Hence the great pressure on the German infantry divisions which caused the diversion of German armoured equipment all along the line.

Stalin believes that Germany had 30,000 tanks at the outbreak of the Russian war. Russia herself had 24,000 tanks and 60 tank divisions with about 350 to 400 tanks in each division. They have always had about 50 tanks in each infantry division. Stalin believes that the large divisions are being broken up by the German Staff and as the war progresses the number of men in the divisions will be decreased in both armies.

He stated that the pressure on his army in the last ten days had come considerably less, and the only reason he could give for it was at he thought Germany had been unable to supply their mechanized visions and air forces with adequate fuel. He stressed the great difficulty the German armies had encountered in moving vast quantities f fuel to the front, and believes these difficulties are going to increase. He does not think this is because Germany has any lack of fuel, but rather because of transportation difficulties, the lack of good roads and more particularly the effective interference of the Russians with the German communications.

Stalin says that even though the war has been going on only si weeks, his troops are meeting brand new divisions at the front, an some of the original divisions seem to have been withdrawn. He b lieves that the morale of his own troops is extremely high, and realiz that this is partly due to the fact that they are fighting for their hon and in familiar territory. He said that Germany has already fou that "moving mechanized forces through Russia was very differ than moving them over the boulevards of Belgium and France."

Stalin said that the Russian Army had been confronted with a prise attack; he himself believed that Hitler would not strike bu took all precautions possible to mobilize his army. Hitler made n mands on Russia, hence they were forced to organize a defensive of battle. Now the Russians were counter-attacking at many p

He said the Russian Army had met few of the 70-ton German but that this was probably due to the inability of the Russian b to hold the tanks. He believes the terrain too difficult to man these giant tanks. Where the 70-ton tanks were encountere were pierced by the Russian 75 mm. guns. He does not think t very large German tank will play an important part in t

Russia, although there are parts of the southern front where these tanks can manœuvre. The roads are very bad for the big tanks to operate over

He believes that his largest tanks are better than the other German tanks, and that they have repeatedly shown their superiority in the war to date He stated that the two largest Russian tanks were of 48 to 52 tons respectively, with 75 mm armour and 85 mm guns They have approximately 4,000 of these tanks at present The Russian medium tank of just over 30 tons has 45 mm armour and 75 mm guns. The infantry tank is 13 tons and has 37 mm armour and 45 mm guns They have approximately 8,000 medium (30-ton) tanks at present and 12,000 light (13-ton) tanks He stated their present production of tanks was 1,000 per month He stated that his production was equally divided between medium and heavy tanks on the one hand, and light tanks on the other He stated they would be short of steel for tank manufacture and urged that orders for this steel be placed at once He later said it would be much better if his tanks could be manufactured in the United States He also wished to purchase as many of our tanks as possible to be ready for the Spring campaign Stalin said the all-important thing was the production of tanks during the winter—the tank losses on both sides were very great but that Germany could produce more tanks per month this winter than Russia Hence the aid of the United States in supplying steel and tanks is essential He would like to send a tank expert to the United States He stated that he would give the United States his tank designs

He emphasized the fact that Germany has a strong and powerful air force, and that their present production of planes was probably 2,500 fighters and bombers per month, but not more than 3,000 a month Germany has more planes than the Russians at the front a this time but the quality of many of the German planes is not first class—they are rough, plain machines in which pilots fly without long training Some pilots they have captured indicated that the training was short and consisted of only a practical course He re izes that Germany moved to the Russian front a great many airc which types are no longer being built in German factories He th that Germany under rated the ability of the Russian Air Force thought that these second-rate planes could operate success against them The Russians have experienced no trouble in destr these planes The Henkel plane was faster than the new M schmitt On the whole the most useful plane the Germans have the Russians is the Junkers 88, which is as good or better th thing of that type that the Russians have

He stated that the Germans are putting 20 mm cannon some have 12 mm machine guns Stalin said that al

must have cannon in modern warfare. He has equipped all his fighters with cannon or heavy calibre machine guns, and he stated the Russians proposed to have no fighters without cannon or the heaviest calibre machine guns.

The Russians put their old fighter planes on the front, and these have a speed of only 440 kilometres per hour, but they have been very useful and successful against many of the planes that the Germans put on Russia's western front. They have seven to eight thousand of these older type fighters.

The new fighters are of three types. They have approximately 2,000 of these at the front, and are producing 1,200 a month. The speediest of these newer one-motor fighters is the M.I.G. 3, with heavy armour and cannon, and a speed of 650 kilometres per hour. The second fighter is the L.A.G. 3, which carries a cannon, has heavy machine guns and a speed of 590 k.p.h. The third is the J.K. 1; this carries a cannon, and has a speed of 590 k.p.h.

Stalin said the Russians have three new medium bomber types. First a single-motor bomber, flying at 510 k.p.h., for close range bombing. Second, the 2-motor dive bomber, flying at 540 k.p.h. with a flying range of 800 kilometres. The third bomber, which is only just being produced in quantity, is a 2-motor dive bomber with a range of 2,200 kilometres and a speed of 610 k.p.h., and carries one ton of bombs on its full flight range, but double that amount of bombs on more than half range. It has 7 heavy machine guns. Stalin spoke of it as "a very good bomber."

He said he has three types of long-range bomber. One, a 2-motor bomber which is quite slow, doing 440 k.p.h. with a range of 3,000 kilometers. Second, a 2-motor bomber, just in production, with a Diesel engine; range 5,000 kilometres, carrying one ton bomb load, 2 tons at 4,000 kilometres range; speed 500 k.p.h. Third, a 4-engine bomber, just now getting into production; range 3,500 kilometres, carrying 3 tons of bombs. He said they had at present about 600 heavy long range bombers.

He said that his total production of planes at present was 1,800 per month; by January 1st, this would increase to 2,500 per month. 60% of these would be fighter planes, and 40% bombers. This was exclusive of training planes, now being produced at 15 per day. The Russians have approximately 3,500 training planes. Stalin said the training course for pilots was 8 months.

He expressed considerable interest in training pilots in America and left me the impression there would soon be a shortage of pilots. Stalin said the German claims of Russian air losses were absurd. The Russians lost more planes than the Germans at first, but he thinks the ad-

must have cannon in modern warfare. He has equipped all his fighters with cannon or heavy calibre machine guns, and he stated the Russians proposed to have no fighters without cannon or the heaviest calibre machine guns.

The Russians put their old fighter planes on the front, and these have a speed of only 440 kilometres per hour, but they have been very useful and successful against many of the planes that the Germans put on Russia's western front. They have seven to eight thousand of these older type fighters.

The new fighters are of three types. They have approximately 2,000 of these at the front, and are producing 1,200 a month. The speediest of these newer one-motor fighters is the M.I.G. 3, with heavy armour and cannon, and a speed of 650 kilometres per hour. The second fighter is the L.A.G. 3, which carries a cannon, has heavy machine guns and a speed of 590 k.p.h. The third is the J.K. 1; this carries a cannon, and has a speed of 590 k.p.h.

Stalin said the Russians have three new medium bomber types. First a single-motor bomber, flying at 510 k.p.h., for close range bombing. Second, the 2-motor dive bomber, flying at 540 k.p.h. with a flying range of 800 kilometres. The third bomber, which is only just being produced in quantity, is a 2-motor dive bomber with a range of *2,200 kilometres and a speed of 610 k.p.h., and carries one ton of* bombs on its full flight range, but double that amount of bombs on more than half range. It has 7 heavy machine guns. Stalin spoke of it as "a very good bomber."

He said he has three types of long-range bomber. One, a 2-motor bomber which is quite slow, doing 440 k.p.h. with a range of 3,000 kilometers. Second, a 2-motor bomber, just in production, with a Diesel engine; range 5,000 kilometres, carrying one ton bomb load, 2 tons at 4,000 kilometres range; speed 500 k.p.h. Third, a 4-engine bomber, just now getting into production; range 3,500 kilometres, carrying 3 tons of bombs. He said they had at present about 600 heavy long range bombers.

He said that his total production of planes at present was 1,800 per month; by January 1st, this would increase to 2,500 per month. 60% of these would be fighter planes, and 40% bombers. This was exclusive of training planes, now being produced at 15 per day. The Russians have approximately 3,500 training planes. Stalin said the training course for pilots was 8 months.

He expressed considerable interest in training pilots in America and left me the impression there would soon be a shortage of pilots. Stalin said the German claims of Russian air losses were absurd. The Russians lost more planes than the Germans at first, but he thinks the ad-

Germans [illegible] + no
stomach for offensive

Total Ger 270
40 could still be [illegible]

Limit 300 —

[illegible]

Air

1. Germans strong
2. Production good — 2500 a mo [illegible]
perhaps little more possibly 3000
3. Ger. has more than Ru.
4. Quality not first class
Rough, planes, medium which
medium trained pilots can fly
5. Quick training — fastest
6. Too little speed.

Page of original notes taken by Hopkins on July 31, 1941, during a conversation with Stalin

vantage is the other way now. He would not indicate the number of losses other than there were a "good many on both sides."

He stated there had been some damage to aircraft factories but that there had been considerable disbursal of the machinery before the destruction took place. (I saw two factories, which I was told by our Ambassador were aircraft factories, just outside Moscow completely destroyed.)

I asked Mr. Stalin about the location of his munitions plants. He did not reply to this in detail but indicated that about 75% of the sum total of his munitions plants, the percentage varying depending on the type of plant, were in the general areas of which Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev were the centers

I gained the impression from him that if the German army could move some 150 miles east of each of these centers, they would destroy almost 75% of Russia's industrial capacity.

Stalin said they had dispersed a good many of their larger factories and were moving many machine tools eastward to escape the bombing attacks.

Stalin repeatedly stated that he did not under-rate the German Army. He stated that their organization was of the very best and that he believed that they had large reserves of food, men, supplies and fuel He thinks that we may be underestimating Germany's oil supplies, and he bases this on the fact that under the two-year agreement they had with Germany, the Germans asked for less fuel than the agreement provided for during the year 1940-41. He thought one weakness the British had was under-rating their enemy; he did not propose to do this. He, therefore, thinks that so far as men, supplies, food and fuel are concerned, the German Army is capable of taking part in a winter campaign in Russia. He thinks, however, that it would be difficult for the Germans to operate offensively much after the first of September, when the heavy rains will begin, and after October 1st the ground would be so bad that they would have to go on the defensive. He expressed great confidence that the line during the winter months would be in front of Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad—probably not more than 100 kilometres away from where it is now. He thinks that one of the great advantages the Russian Army has at the moment is that the Germans "are tired" and have no stomach for an offensive. He realizes that Germany can still bring up about 40 divisions, making 275 divisions in all at the Russian front, but these divisions probably cannot get there before the hard weather sets in.

He told me that the first need of the Russian Army was light anti-aircraft guns, 20 mm., 25 mm., 37 mm., and 50 mm., and that they need vast quantities of these guns to give protection to their lines of communications against low flying planes.

Memorandum in Stalin's handwriting given to Hopkins in the Kremlin July 31, 1941, indicating order of importance of supplies Stalin wanted from America 1) light anti-aircraft guns, 3) aluminum (which he said he wanted for airplanes); 3) 50 calibre machine guns, 4) 30 calibre rifles

with cannon or heavy calibre ma
proposed to have no fighters w
machine guns.

The Russians put their old f
have a speed of only 440 kilome
useful and successful against m
on Russia's western front. They
older type fighters.

The new fighters are of three
of these at the front, and are pr
of these newer one-motor fighte
and cannon, and a speed of
fighter is the L.A.G. 3, which
guns and a speed of 590 k.p.h.
cannon, and has a speed of 59

Stalin said the Russians ha
First a single-motor bomber,
bombing. Second, the 2-motor
a flying range of 800 kilometre
being produced in quantity, is
2,200 kilometres and a speed
bombs on its full flight range,
more than half range. It has 7
as "a very good bomber."

He said he has three types
bomber which is quite slow, d
kilometers. Second, a 2-moto
Diesel engine; range 5,000 kil
tons at 4,000 kilometres rang
bomber, just now getting int
carrying 3 tons of bombs. H
heavy long range bombers.

He said that his total produc
month; by January 1st, this w
of these would be fighter plan
sive of training planes, now b
sians have approximately 3,50
ing course for pilots was 8 mo

He expressed considerable i
left me the impression there w
said the German claims of R
sians lost more planes than the

were willing to do everything that they possibly could during the succeeding weeks to send matériel to Russia. This matériel, however, must obviously be already manufactured and that he—Stalin—must understand that *even this matériel could in all probability not reach his* battle lines before the bad weather closes in.

I told him that we believed that plans should be made for a long war; that so far as the United States was concerned we had large supply commitments in relation to our own Army, Navy and Merchant Marine, as well as very substantial responsibilities for supplies to England, China and the Republics of South America

I told him that the decisions relating to the long range supply problem could only be resolved if our Government had complete knowledge, not only of the military situation in Russia, but of type, number and quality of their military weapons, as well as full knowledge of raw materials and factory capacity

I told him that I knew that our Government, and I believed the British Government, would be unwilling to send any heavy munitions, *such as tanks, aircraft and anti-aircraft guns, to the Russian front* unless and until a conference had been held between our three Governments, at which the relative strategic interests of each front, as well as the interests of our several countries, was fully and jointly explored.

I suggested that, in as much as he was so fully engaged with the immediate prosecution of the battle now in hand, he could not give the time and attention to such a conference until after this battle is over.

Stalin had previously indicated that the front would be solidified not later than October 1.

I was mindful of the importance that no conference be held in Moscow until we knew the outcome of the battle now in progress I felt it very unwise to hold a conference while this battle was in the balance Hence my suggestion to him to hold a conference at as late a date as was possible. Then we would know whether or not there was to be a front and approximately *the location of the front during the* coming winter months

Stalin said he would welcome such a conference and said that of course it would be impossible for him to go to a conference anywhere other than in Moscow, that he would be glad to make available to our Government all information which was required and he offered to give us the Soviet designs of their airplanes, tanks and guns

I told him that I was not authorized to make this suggestion of a conference to him officially

Stalin then stated that in case our Government wished to have such a conference he would receive such a proposal sympathetically and would give the conference his personal attention

Stalin has not given hitherto any information of any kind to any of